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ABSTRACT

Nine papers read and discussed at the Skytop, Pennsylvania, Colloquium are presented along with discussion summaries by Theodore Andersson. Opening the colloquium with a paper on the importance of language style in education, Moses Hadas urges the cooperation of teachers of modern foreign languages and of classical languages in order to achieve basic educational goals. Stephen Freeman discusses the importance of modern language education in a changing world. The contributions of linguistics to language teaching are described by Albert Marckwardt. Psycholinguistics and psychological approaches to second-language learning are covered by Wallace Lambert. The objectives of modern language teaching which contribute to successful cross-cultural understanding and communication are reviewed by Howard Nostrand. Joseph Hutchinson stresses the need to define learning objectives in his paper on technology. Program articulation is explored by Donald Walsh. Teacher recruitment, and certification procedures are examined by Kenneth Mildenberger. A list of suggested readings is furnished. (RL)

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Curricular Change in the Foreign Languages

1963 Colloquium on Curricular Change

College Entrance Examination Board

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Authors

Nelson Brooks
Associate Professor of French
Yale University

Stephen A. Freeman
Vice-President Emeritus and Director of the
Language Schools
Middlebury College

Moses Hadas
Jay Professor of Greek and
Chairman of the Department of
Greek and Latin
Columbia University

Joseph C. Hutchinson
Specialist, Foreign Languages
Instructional Resources Branch
United States Office of Education

Wallace E. Lambert
Associate Professor of Psychology
McGill University

Albert H. Marckwardt
Professor of English and Linguistics
Princeton University

Kenneth W. Mildenberger
Director, Division of College and University Assistance
United States Office of Education

Howard Lee Nostrand
Chairman, Department of Romance Languages and
Literature
University of Washington

Donald D. Walsh
Director, Foreign Language Program Research Center
Modern Language Association of America

Introduction

The 1963 Colloquium on Curricular Change: Foreign Languages was held April 2-5 at Skytop, Pennsylvania. The Skytop Colloquium is best understood, I believe, as a collective effort at self-criticism. Constant re-evaluation is of course traditional in our decentralized form of education, but it is not always very searching. As a result, marks of mediocrity persist, challenging us to unremitting efforts at improvement.

An opportunity for a careful re-examination was provided by the College Entrance Examination Board last April when it invited representatives of the foreign-language teaching profession to study and to discuss, as critically as possible, the evolving theory and practice of foreign-language education in the United States today. In October 1961 the College Board held a conference on curricular change in various fields.[1] The Skytop Colloquium is the first of a series intended to investigate in some detail curricular changes taking place in foreign languages, English, social sciences, and in mathematics and the natural sciences. Board President Frank Bowles conceived the idea of organizing these conferences on the substance rather than the form of education while he was in Europe observing practices there.

The Board has in the past perhaps had a reputation for conservativeness; but, as this Colloquium shows, it stands ready to change and improve its testing program as soon as its constituent schools and colleges are ready. In the field of foreign languages, for example, it has for several years recognized the need for testing language as communication by recommending that the Listening Comprehension Test be given in test centers that can provide satisfactory conditions for administering it. And it is well known that listening comprehension and speaking correlate well. In addition, the Advanced Placement Program, which comes under annual scrutiny, attests the Board's interest in perfecting its evaluation of language as style as related to the study of literature. As President Bowles noted in his welcoming address to the Colloquium, the easiest place to insert new ideas may be between school and college. The Advanced Placement Program has proved to be a kind of wedge that opens a way for new ideas. But, he said, we cannot permit it to be only a wedge, for the new ideas should not separate school and college but bring them closer together.

Foreign-language instruction has, particularly in the last decade, evolved rapidly. In an effort to inform itself concerning the most significant of the changes that have taken place, the College Board invited from among the many who have exerted an active leadership in the language field nine scholar-teachers to prepare papers on selected aspects of foreign-language teaching and learning. These papers were distributed in advance to the 175 participants, who were thus able to prepare for the discussion. Of these participants the vast majority were foreign-language teachers, selected by the schools and colleges holding membership in the Board. We may assume that since these teachers prepare students for college or teach college students so prepared they represent a better-than-average cross section of American foreign-language teachers. Certainly the quality of their discussion supports such an assumption.

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[1] See *College Admissions 9: The Changing College Preparatory Curriculum* (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1962).

The Colloquium format selected by the staff of the Board proved to be effective. The author of each paper took a few minutes to introduce his subject, underlining the main issues. Two selected rapporteurs then commented critically on the paper, after which the discussion was opened to all—and invariably it filled the whole of the available hour. The main points of these discussions are included in this introduction.

My purpose here is to provide some perspective for the papers that follow. This volume constitutes a report to educators, and to others interested in education, on the main changes that are taking place in the foreign-language curriculum today. To some readers these changes—achieved or projected—will seem revolutionary indeed; to others they will represent ideals long pursued. To some, the collective point of view suggested in these chapters—which includes the dissent that is an essential part of such dialogues—makes eminently good sense; to others the alleged complications of the simple task of foreign-language teaching come close to being pure nonsense. In a democratic society such divergences of opinion are good, for they serve to encourage debate, which, responsibly conducted, is essential to our education. The College Board has no delusion concerning the permanence of the findings in this report. At the present rate of change another colloquium and another report will be necessary in five years—and by that time another panel of "experts" will be ready to record further advances.

Classical Languages: Reaffirmation and Change

One change that seems to be taking place is a closer cooperation between teachers of the classical and the modern languages, who used to contend for a place in the sun. It is the latter who are the newcomers, favored now by the trend of the times. It would be a grave error, as most modern-language teachers realize, to take any satisfaction in the greater public support given modern languages, for it involves the danger of losing sight of the values represented by the classical languages.

The Modern Language Association of America, which in its Foreign Language Program has exerted leadership, is made up largely of college and university teachers of English and modern foreign languages. However, its policy has been to promote more and better teaching of the modern foreign languages but not at the expense of the classical languages. The American Associations of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (founded in 1917), of French (founded in 1927), of German (founded in 1928), of Italian (founded in 1924), of Slavic and East European Languages (founded in 1914), though founded for the purpose of promoting one language or group of languages without any particular concern for others, have actively cooperated with the Foreign Language Program of the MLA. The National Federation of Modern Language Teacher Associations, which publishes *The Modern Language Journal,* is not concerned with the classical languages, but it has not promoted the cause of the modern languages at the expense of the classics. In the last decade modern-language teachers have become not only tolerant but increasingly eager to cooperate with their colleagues in classics. It is clearly a matter of self-interest to pull with rather than against them. Thus the Northwest Conference of Foreign Language Teachers (founded in 1950) and the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (1954) have both included teachers of the classical languages (primarily Latin teachers) and of the modern languages, and some of their working committees have studied the obvious differences between their teaching problems. When in 1961 the Department of Foreign Languages was initiated in the National Education Association, the partnership between classical languages and modern languages was once more reaffirmed.

Applauding the united presence of teachers of classical and of modern languages, Moses Hadas, the distinguished Jay Professor of Greek and chairman of the department of Greek and Latin at Columbia University, initiated the Colloquium with a paper on "style in education." He expressed with eloquence and persuasiveness this classical ideal, citing Alfred North Whitehead's statement that "Style is the ultimate morality of the mind." But he did much more. Throughout the Colloquium echoes kept recurring which showed how subtle and profound had been the effect of his words.

The discussion, initiated by Henry C. Montgomery, chairman of the department of classics of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, and John F. Gummere, headmaster of the William Penn Charter School in Philadelphia, developed the theme of mutual dependence. Professor Hadas had asserted that classicists need for their work the knowledge of at least two or three modern languages. Others pointed out the modern-language teacher's need for the historical perspective and "linguistic awareness" that the classical languages help to provide. There was general agreement that Latin ought to be a part of the "other-language" experience of the high school and college student. Greek and Latin are of course indispensable for the study of Indo-European philology and linguistics. The relative place in the curriculum of the classical and the modern languages was considered—a little inconclusively. Many participants agreed that modern languages taught as speech might well begin in the grades, while the classical languages—Greek as well as Latin, some hoped—might be prominent, with modern languages, in high school and college,[2] where clearly they could be more effectively taught in three or four years than in two. There was no discussion of the virtual elimination from public secondary schools of classical Greek nor of possible steps to be taken for restoring Greek for the benefit of those few students—our possible future classicists and philologists—who feel attracted to such study. Increasing attention is being given to the fact that for the vast majority of secondary school students study of Latin is limited to two years, hardly enough to initiate the future teachers that in rapidly increasing numbers are being sought. The possibility of at least a three-year sequence of Latin (in grades 10 to 12), preferably after study of a modern foreign language, is being explored. In answer to a question from the floor, it was pointed out that like the modern languages the classics have profited from innovations suggested by the science of linguistics and have developed modern textbooks and other materials. It was suggested that our departments of classics might take the initiative in organizing more programs of exchange with teachers of classics abroad, especially in Europe.

Modern Languages for a Changing World

Stephen A. Freeman, vice-president emeritus of Middlebury College and director of its summer language schools, presented a paper on the need for the study of modern foreign languages in our changing world. Vice-president Freeman joined Professor Hadas in proclaiming that each group, classicists and modern-language teachers, needs the support of the other. He assured the classicists that they were among friends. He identified lack of communication as being at the root of most of the world's present ills and pointed out that only about 4 per cent of American high school students reach a stage of being able to communicate in a second language. While emphasizing the need to do better than this, he cautioned against the danger of neglecting the literate skills—reading and writing. Recognizing FLES (Foreign Languages in the Elementary School) as a very promising educational trend, he nevertheless questioned whether it is advisable in all cases. No subject in the curriculum is altogether self-sufficient; therefore he suggested as possible forms of curricular cooperation the greater use of foreign languages in teaching other subjects—for example, M.I.T. is teaching a special section of the required freshman humanities course in French—and much greater use of foreign languages in reading for other subjects.

Herrick B. Young, president of Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio, and Schofield Andrews, Jr., lecturer in French and assistant dean of Harvard College, began the discussion by calling attention, respectively, to the possible achievement of higher quality by the greater use of the 60,000 foreign students in the United States and to the better exploitation of junior-year-abroad programs. A twinning arrangement, particularly applicable to small colleges, was suggested; under this arrangement a college would concentrate on one country and language and would exchange teachers, students, and materials. The further possibility was pointed out of using returning Peace Corpsmen or students returning from Dependents Schools or other schools or universities abroad. More systematic organization of foreign study and exchanges is greatly needed, it was generally agreed.

It was also agreed that achievement of quality in language education requires longer sequences of study—the futility of two years of study, in grades 9 and 10 or 10 and 11, is universally recognized. Participants generally agreed that colleges and universities should offer many more languages; that students should be urged to learn one of the common languages, then a "critical" one; that colleges and universities should reconsider their entrance and degree requirements in the light of today's and tomorrow's needs.

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[2] See the following statement of the Steering Committee of the Foreign Language Program of the Modern Language Association, published in *PMLA*, September 1956, Part II: "Accumulating evidence shows that a first foreign language can most readily be learned in childhood and learned primarily as spoken language. Unless Latin is taught in this way, we believe that the study of an ancient language is best postponed until secondary school age, and that an ancient language can be learned most efficiently if a modern foreign language has first been approached as speech."

Modern Foreign Languages: A New Dimension

The classical languages are an indispensable link with that part of our heritage which antedates our modern age. Modern languages are a link with our modern past and with our contemporary world. Thus have foreign languages been long regarded as a cornerstone of humanistic study. That there have been important segments of our educational structure that have come to consider foreign languages, ancient and modern, as expendable in our curriculum seems hard to believe but is nonetheless true. Today's world has so changed that if it is to admit the educational usefulness of modern foreign languages at all it must be on completely different grounds. It is as one of the social sciences rather than as one of the humanities that it will win a sympathetic hearing generally and will win support by the Congress of the United States and by responsible state and local legislative bodies.

At the Colloquium the social science aspect of modern languages received much attention. Careful study of the relation of language teaching and learning to the social sciences—linguistics, psychology, cultural anthropology, and sociology—enabled the participants to catch a somewhat new vision of the nature of language and of language learning.

Linguistics as an Aid in Language Teaching and Language Learning

Linguistics, or the scientific study of language, is concerned primarily with the observation and description of language as a structure or system. Modern linguists, among whom Americans have played an important role, have radically altered our concepts of language by taking a new, hard look at what language—or a language—is rather than what it should be. Some of these changes were the subject of the paper prepared by Albert H. Marckwardt, for many years director of the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan and now professor of English at Princeton University.

From the many ways in which linguistic concepts can serve language teachers Professor Marckwardt selected: the primacy of the spoken language; the awkwardness of using traditionally based grammar for describing Western European languages; the fact that the vocabularies of two languages are not subject to a series of one-for-one equivalences; the unwisdom of considering that the particular language one teaches is somehow superior to others.

These concepts in turn suggest that the foreign-language teacher should define the goals of his teaching in terms of what he can reasonably expect his students to do with language; that he should make a detailed comparison between English and the second language; that he should teach the basic language skills in proper order, that we are never finished with the oral approach, that language habits are best acquired not by grammatical analysis but by drill on patterned structure, and that the acquisition of a large vocabulary may well be deferred until after the initial learning stages.

Professor L. L. Barrett, head of the department of Romance languages at Washington and Lee University, and Mrs. Margaret M. del Barrio, On-Camera Teacher of Spanish in the Detroit TV Teaching Program, served as rapporteurs for this paper and started the discussion. The former, speaking as a language teacher typically untrained in linguistics (he expressed the oft-repeated hope that college teachers might have the opportunity to participate in NDEA institutes) observed nevertheless some beneficial effects of the newer methods now in vogue: "Most students I've known who were fluent in speaking and understanding spoken Spanish quickly learned to appreciate the beauties of literature, more quickly in most cases than students prepared in the old way. I am for this new system when I find a freshman who can not only distinguish intelligently between, say, Azorín and Baroja, but even between Garcilaso and Fray Luis de León. Such a freshman is invariably one who can read aloud the original and thus appreciate style."

Discussion emphasized the need for linguistic training by teaching assistants and other graduate students and the opportunity that might come to foreign-language teachers to teach English abroad if they were linguistically trained. Although it was conceded that linguists had in the past been too exclusively research oriented, it was pointed out that with the emergence of departments of linguistics a broader role is being served by linguists. They are beginning to develop courses not only in general linguistics but in the application of linguistic principles to the teaching of each of the common languages.

Psychological Approaches to Language

The great contribution by linguists to language teaching is a better understanding of the nature of language. For a better understanding of the process of second-language learning we turn to the psychologists and more specifically to the psycholinguists, for psycholinguistics is now a recognized specialization in psychology. Psychologists have long been interested in the relation of language to thinking, but their interest in second-language learning is of recent origin. However, there are now important research centers at McGill University, Harvard University, the University of Illinois, the University of California at Berkeley, the Haskins Laboratory, and Ohio State University, among others.

Professor Wallace E. Lambert of the department of psychology, McGill University, presented a paper that revealed a whole new field to many language teachers at the Colloquium. At the same time he admonished language teachers not to accept too eagerly the dicta of psychologists, who are after all only at the beginning of their research in this field. He described some of the research being conducted at McGill University and referred to the work of other researchers, such as Donald O. Hebb and G. A. Ferguson (McGill University), John B. Carroll (Harvard University), C. E. Osgood (University of Illinois), Susan Ervin (University of California at Berkeley), and Paul Pimsleur (Ohio State University). One of the most interesting conclusions of the research at McGill is that, contrary to what has hitherto been thought, bilinguals seem to have an advantage over monolinguals in intelligence.[3] Professor Lambert distinguished between integrative language learning (in which the learner seeks to identify himself with those who speak natively the language concerned) and instrumental learning (in which the learner regards the second language as a tool to be learned without involvement by the learner). He also invited language teachers to visit centers of psycholinguistic research. Professor Lambert succeeded admirably in interesting his audience in this kind of research and in demonstrating beyond any doubt the relevance of psychology to the learning of a language.

Rapporteurs for this paper were Professor Klaus Mueller, coordinator of the Language Instruction Programs of the Associated Colleges of the Midwest, and Professor Robert F. Roeming of the Milwaukee Branch of the University of Wisconsin and managing editor of *The Modern Language Journal.*

The former stressed the fact that language teachers and psychologists have divergent interests as well as interests in common. He called special attention to the teacher's personality and enthusiasm as vital factors in successful teaching. Referring to research projects going on in the Associated Colleges, he suggested the desirability of first giving the *Gestalt* of a language and then presenting it in manageable parts; of introducing elements of fun in language teaching; and of measuring student attitudes and motivation.

Professor Roeming, a little oppressed by all the talk about machines, said, "Can you imagine one of our students saying in the future, 'All I am or hope to be I owe to Language Lab No. 10'?"

A Second Culture: New Imperative in American Education

In this paper, Professor Howard Lee Nostrand, chairman of the department of Romance languages and literature of the University of Washington, sought to re-examine those objectives of modern-language teaching which contribute to successful cross-cultural understanding and communication. He contended that today the study of a foreign language and literature should lead to understanding of the foreign culture, both in the humanistic sense, which refers to the exceptional achievements of a people, and also in the humble sense that refers to the beliefs and customs of the people's everyday life. He addressed himself to the question of how modern-language teaching can best draw upon the social sciences for an understanding of the foreign society and of its culture in the everyday meaning.

Modern-language teachers have not as a group assimilated the second part of this more comprehensive concept of culture. Not until they do can they elaborate a sound theory for relating language to culture and then apply this theory to teaching practices.

Here as in linguistics and psychology language teachers need help. Without assistance from cultural anthropologists, sociologists, and social psychologists the language teacher cannot deal confidently with such a delicate and complex objective as cross-cultural understanding, for example. And yet to aim at less is to fail to understand one of the central and most potent dimensions of language. To Professor Nostrand it is inconceivable that language teachers should shrink from such a task, however difficult it may be.

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[3] The Carnegie Corporation of New York *Quarterly*, April 1963, contains a report on this interesting conclusion.

Understandably, Professor Nostrand's paper stimulated much discussion. Professor Edward D. Sullivan of Princeton University presented a critique in which he found Professor Nostrand's point of view too optimistic. To believe that the values of cross-cultural understanding can be taught by precept and example seemed to him rash.

Professor Marcel Gutwirth of Haverford College and Joseph Stookins of The Loomis School, Windsor, Connecticut, served as rapporteurs. Professor Gutwirth cited the work of Laurence Wylie of Harvard University (author of *Village in the Vaucluse*[4]) as a paradigm for the teaching of foreign-culture values.

The problem of ethnocentrism attracted considerable attention. It was observed that we must not judge others by our own value system, and yet too many of us do. At the same time note was taken of the difficulty on the one side of not understanding enough of another culture to identify with it and on the other of presuming too great an identification with it. It was suggested that speaking a second language "too well" can, under certain exceptional circumstances, cause suspicion, just as not speaking it well enough—the common situation—can cause nonacceptance. The case was cited of an American in Cuba who aroused suspicion by talking Spanish like a Cuban, though he looked like an American, until it was discovered that culturally he was a Cuban, "one of them."

There is a midpoint at which a language student has acquired enough of the foreign behavior to act sympathetically within that culture and be accepted as a kind of welcome outsider. One should of course not infer from this discussion that it is possible in our teaching to aim at too great authenticity of speech, which is surely not the case.

Instruction in Foreign Languages: The State of the Art

The papers discussed in the foregoing are primarily concerned with the theory and content of language teaching and learning. In private conversation some participants expressed the opinion that the theory was excessive compared with practice. However, a school superintendent took them gently to task, first for not expressing their opinions publicly, and second for not recognizing sufficiently the importance of sound theoretical foundation.

The paper by Professor Nelson Brooks of Yale University provides the transition between substance and form. It deals with theory but with theory as actually practiced in the classroom. In particular it treats the change in language teaching from traditional to modern, in the following categories: grammar (analysis vs. analogy); what use to make of the mother tongue in teaching; method (there are as many methods as there are teachers) and techniques; levels of achievement; a monolingual vs. a bilingual learner; school-college relations; and testing.

Professor Edward J. Geary, lately of Harvard University and now of Cornell University, and Paul Glaude, supervisor of foreign-language education in the New York State Education Department, served as rapporteurs. To the former it seemed that "the discussion represented general agreement (or a fairly high level of tolerance), that Professor Brooks's theories have had an impact and have been accepted, that the discussion centered around problems which are essentially rather peripheral and which deal largely with 'adjustments': of College Board tests to the newer methods, of the teaching situation in the schools to the newer demands being placed on the teacher."

Paul Glaude was interested in certain psychological questions and in exploring further the uses of the language laboratory. Should we not adopt as a cardinal principle that the student be kept aware of each structural point throughout drill on this point? Cannot the laboratory serve to develop: greater oral control through transformation and variation in response to auditory stimuli; cultural insight and literary experience; and even self-instruction in writing?

The notion of levels of instruction stirred interest and discussion. The idea involves an important shift of emphasis from time spent in the classroom to proficiency achieved. Level I is equivalent to what a good average class working purposefully under favorable conditions would learn in, for example, grade 9. A reasonable achievement for each level needs further definition, to be sure, but the new Modern Language Association Cooperative Tests now nearing completion will help to define them.[5]

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[4] (Harvard University Press, 1958).

[5] Attention was also called to an important paper by Professor W. Freeman Twaddell of Brown University on "deep" *vs.* "surface" grammar. This paper was read at the Modern Language Association annual meeting in December 1961 and was later published in *PMLA*, May 1962, Part II.

The Technology of Modern-Language Learning

In dealing with the subject of technology in modern-language learning—fascinating to some, irritating to others—Joseph C. Hutchinson, foreign-language specialist in the United States Office of Education, moved still farther from substance in the direction of form but did not lose a sense of balance. He insisted on essentials: on the necessity of defining objectives; on the advantage of what he called a "sophisticated simplification" in presenting phonology and grammar; on the necessity of complete integration and compatibility of language laboratory programs and classroom teaching; on the importance of regular and frequent practice. He pointed out that it is the language teachers themselves who in this highly technical area have developed the main concepts and practices. As a result, repetitive drills are being moved from class sessions to laboratory sessions and we are gradually arriving at a more sensible division of labor between man and machines.

The rapporteurs for this session were Professor Jeanne Varney Pleasants of Columbia University and Professor Frederick D. Eddy of Georgetown University, interim executive secretary of the Department of Foreign Languages of the National Education Association. Of the two common types of laboratory—one in which students listen to recordings of a native speaker, respond, and simultaneously hear their own voices through activated earphones; and the other in which they do these things and, in addition, record their responses and then listen to both the model and the response—Professor Pleasants expressed a strong preference for the latter. Others favored the use of both types. She also questioned whether the four language skills should be learned in sequence or all together, but the question was left unresolved; there has not been enough research on this problem. Another unresolved issue was the question of whether the language laboratory is the best place to learn pronunciation. Professor Pleasants thought it was; others believed that a student cannot evaluate his own speech objectively even if he listens and therefore needs individual guidance. Another question that requires further research is whether hearing (auditory discrimination) should be trained before or simultaneously with speaking (articulation). Still other controversial questions were: when should literature be introduced (Professor Pleasants would have it from the first semester); and to what extent may one profitably use literary materials for the purpose of teaching language? The profession is far from having achieved a consensus on these thorny questions. It is well to remember that we have two separate objectives in mind: the teaching of language as communication and the teaching of style in the use of a second language. Some teachers question the appropriateness of using literary models for purposes of everyday communication. Others question the necessity of separating these two goals completely, as is done in some programs. To the latter it seems not unfeasible to make students aware of style from the very beginning of language study by introducing, at least in the background, examples of distinguished literary expression. Although in the early stages of modern-language study the communication skills are primary, the savoring of short literary passages can perhaps motivate the student to study literature, which is one of the most important later goals.

There was also considerable discussion of materials. Special reference was of course made to the *MLA Selective List of Materials* and especially to the list's appendix detailing criteria for their evaluation and selection. To the nine suggestions in his article in *Audiovisual Instruction,*[6] Professor Eddy added a tenth: "Present, especially for listening comprehension, longer and longer and more and more complex segments of the target language." Attention was also called to the increasingly high quality of materials being provided by agencies in Germany, France, Spain, and other countries.

Audio-Visual Report of Curricular Progress

Mrs. Andrea McHenry, foreign language specialist in the United States Office of Education, assisted by Merrill McClatchey, project supervisor in the National Educational Television and Radio Center, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and by Joseph C. Hutchinson, presented an illustrated program consisting of slides, films, and recordings. This audio-visual report, which is undergoing revision, will illustrate various kinds of programs made possible by the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and will provide an interesting impression of the tremendous benefits that language education has experienced as a result of federal support.[7]

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[6] November 1962, p. 618.

[7] For a printed summary of the research program of the Language Development Branch, the reader is referred to National Defense Language Development Program, *Completed Research, Studies, and Instructional Materials,* List 2, 1963.

Articulation in the Teaching of Foreign Languages

Donald D. Walsh, director of the Modern Language Association Foreign Language Program Research Center, treated comprehensively the oft-discussed and still much neglected question of articulation in foreign-language education. He pointed out that articulation is both horizontal and vertical. At each educational level it is important that teachers communicate and exchange visits, just as it is essential to assure easy communication with those who teach either younger or older students. He gave particular attention to the difficult transition from the elementary school to junior high school; to the educational waste caused by an interruption of language learning either in the junior or the senior high school; and to the need for colleges and universities to coordinate their language program with that of the school by means of reasonable entrance and degree requirements.

Professor Elizabeth Woodworth of Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, rapporteuse, called attention to the statewide articulation program in Indiana, directed by George E. Smith of Indiana University and sponsored by the Ford Foundation. It is to be hoped that this program will stimulate other states to similar efforts.

Rapporteur Harlan Hanson, dean of freshmen at Williams College, mentioned as examples of cross-departmental articulation the special section of the required freshman humanities course at M.I.T., which is given in French, and added that Williams is preparing a similar course.

The College Board Advanced Placement Program attracted much discussion. This is a popular program which enables outstanding students to take college-level courses in secondary schools and to receive college credit for them by passing rigorous examinations. For example, of the class that entered Harvard University in 1962, about one-third received some advanced credit, and about one-tenth received enough credit to achieve sophomore status on entrance. The chief difference of opinion turned on whether candidates for advanced placement in languages should be expected to read a specific list of books or whether the list printed in the Board publication entitled *Advanced Placement Program: Course Descriptions* should be regarded as merely suggestive—in other words, whether students should be expected to exhibit primarily extent of knowledge or quality of literary analysis, however difficult the latter may be to evaluate Though both were recognized as desirable, the consensus seemed to favor skills over mastery of specific subject matter.

Another thorny problem was that of providing, especially in small high schools, for the needs of each level of students in each of three or four languages. Some students begin their study of a second language in the primary grades; others may begin the same language in grade 7, still others may begin the same language or a third language in grade 9. Participants generally agreed that students who have begun their language study in the elementary grades should not be mixed with beginners in junior high school. In fact it was generally felt that not until Level III could students of different preparation be safely mixed in the same class.

One of the most irksome failures in articulation takes place when graduates of secondary schools who have been prepared to understand and speak a second language find no opportunity to do so in college classes. Secondary school teachers were urged to communicate their dissatisfaction directly to colleges concerned.

Determining the Competencies of Teachers of Modern Foreign Languages

Kenneth W. Mildenberger, director of the Division of College and University Assistance of the United States Office of Education, presented the final paper of the Colloquium, in which he dealt, directly or indirectly with one of the crucial issues of the foreign-language profession, that of teacher recruitment, training, and certification. Foreign-language enrollments have increased, as has the number of schools offering language instruction, but the increase has been slowed by the dearth of language teachers. He mentioned the traditional way of measuring competency—by credit hours—and pointed to the trend toward measuring proficiency however acquired. The epoch-making MLA Statement of Qualifications and the MLA Foreign Language Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students have already demonstrated spectacularly their usefulness in evaluating the subject-matter proficiency of teachers. As was pointed out by one of the participants, there still remains a similar advance to be made in professional education.

Rapporteurs for this paper were Wilmarth H. Starr, director of the MLA Foreign Language Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students, and chairman of the all-university language departments in New York University; and Genevieve Blew, supervisor of foreign-language instruction in the Maryland State Department of Education and chairman of the Interim Board of Directors of the National Education Association Department of Foreign Languages. The former brought the Colloquium up to date on the use of the Foreign Language Proficiency Tests. The following states are using them as a part of their certification procedures: Delaware, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. Various other states are considering their use. He cautioned that the tests do not attempt to measure what he called the *mystique* of teaching. The personal qualities of a successful teacher have always defied efforts at definition and will probably continue to thwart them, but this hardly matters if there is adequate machinery for determining impartially whether or not a teacher has the knowledge and skills basic to effective performance in the classroom. It was generally recognized that the development and use of these tests represents a giant forward step in modern-foreign-language teaching. Mrs. Miriam Bryan of Educational Testing Service can supply further information concerning these tests.

It was pointed out that despite the advance represented by the proficiency tests, a disturbingly large majority of colleges and universities are not yet setting up specific programs for preparing teachers. Such laggard institutions of higher learning constitute one of the most serious bottlenecks in an otherwise rapidly developing language development program.

Conclusion

This report suggests, I believe, that the Colloquium was in general forward-looking. Such a conclusion corresponds to the feeling of most of the participants, but not of all. Respect for traditional values was complete and sincere, but to a few it seemed that the emphasis on effectiveness in language learning de-emphasized the importance of literature. Response to the message of Professor Hadas was spontaneous and enthusiastic. At the same time, the exploratory nature of most of the papers by teachers of the modern languages met with a generally sympathetic response. The leaders in the profession clearly feel that they do not by any means have definitive answers. They are perhaps justified in feeling that they have a somewhat better understanding than previous generations of modern-language teachers of the nature and function of language as communication. The link between language and culture in the anthropological sense is becoming more clear. We are beginning to glimpse aspects of the language-learning process more clearly and to realize the complicating factor of social pressures. Language teachers in general are neither infatuated with machines nor intimidated by them but are resolved to be served by them as effectively as possible. The challenge by Professor Lambert to be more interested in research and experimentation for the sheer joy to be had from such interest evoked a positive response. In this area it must be confessed that the language-teaching profession as a whole has hardly taken more than a tentative first step. And finally the participants in the discussion—although some expressed skepticism on one point or another and some suppressed an impulse to demur—intimated their confidence in the speakers and their approval of the general point of view represented. In short, though the continuing search for quality in language education seems scarcely to have begun, we appear to be headed in the right direction and to be determined to keep thinking, experimenting, working—with as much joy as possible.

For the opportunity to meet at Skytop, for the chance to take stock of our work in recent years, we all feel a deep debt of gratitude to the Trustees, officers, and staff of the College Entrance Examination Board.

Theodore Andersson
Director of the Colloquium and Chairman,
Colloquium Planning Committee
Chairman, Department of Romance Languages
University of Texas

Style in Education: Classics and the Classical

by Moses Hadas

On my own behalf, and more particularly on behalf of the disciplines I represent, I am grateful for the reconciliation signified by my presence at the Skytop Colloquium on Curricular Change. When the study of the classics was suddenly and drastically reduced, about the time of World War I, and my predecessors were desperately seeking support from kindred disciplines, they were chagrined to find that many of their colleagues in the modern languages were on the side of what we were pleased to call the Philistines. In a few years the modern languages, too, found themselves being pushed into a corner, and by then we were too dispirited to gloat.

Sheer utility must guarantee that modern languages will be taught somehow, in commercial language schools or in their analogues within educational institutions. But the horizons of an educational institution are wider, if less utilitarian, than those of a commercial language school, and there the cause of the teachers of classical languages and the cause of the teachers of modern languages are one. What is at issue, for both, is the conception of education and the function of the classic (not necessarily the classics) in the educational process.

We will all agree, I assume, that the liberal arts ideal of education—the kind of education that is of no direct use in earning a livelihood—still possesses validity. We understand, complacently or with resignation, that it has had to be displaced from its traditional eminence because of the clamorous pressures of subjects of more immediate usefulness. Increasingly complex knowledge which earlier generations have gathered by the way has had to be received into the schools, and the old liberal arts program has been progressively constricted. But unless our world is wholly revolutionized it will not disappear. What those of us who are concerned for its welfare must do is to see that the smaller proportion of school time given to it is used most effectively.

The part of the educational process that concerns us, the part that we believe to be education par excellence, is the part that has to do with initiating oncoming generations into the human traditions of the race. In a larger sense all our disciplines are a species of history. An academic department of fine arts, for example, does not teach painting and sculpture but explicates the tradition of artistic expression. A department of English does have to drill awkward squads in the mechanics of writing, but its main function is to explicate the tradition of literary expression. What they and the rest of us teach, to use an ancient rule of thumb, are those things which most obviously set us apart from the animal.

The Greeks subsumed the distinctive qualities of man under the word *logos,* which means "word," "rationale," "discourse." Isocrates, who is the pioneer educational theorist, said that Greek is to barbarian as man is to animal. Greek he defines, incidentally, not by race but by education; whatever a man's ancestry may be, he is a Greek if he shares a certain type of education. Man is superior to animal because he possesses *logos,* and the educated man is superior to the uneducated because he possesses many *logoi;* the more *logoi* he has the more copiously and subtly and profoundly he can think. The *logoi* were stored up and accessible in a body of literature; accordingly Isocrates' teaching was based on a selected library of books—the books, in fact, that we still call the classics. The program worked. The same library of books Hellenized the entire Near East in the centuries after Alexander, civilized Rome, and, in a real sense though indirectly, gave its intellectual unity to the civilization of Europe. The first thing that any group of Greek immigrants did, when they settled anywhere in the east, was to establish a gymnasium, for the purpose of perpetuating the values of Greekhood. The books taught in the gymnasium, significantly, were not contemporary or recent works but Homer and the tragedians and the others, which were virtually as ancient and certainly as "classic" to them as they are to us.

What was it that they, or we, would hope to achieve by making the classics the basis of education? There were, of course, objectives of the kind familiar to us because they involve certain outlooks on life—the Homeric obsession with individual excellence, the tragedians' reflections on the relations between man and external authority, and so on. There is also the particular cultural objective: what distinguished the educated elect from others was a shared body of traditional knowledge, and participation in this intellectual tradition served as a cement to unify the elect over intervals of space and time. But these objectives, which we should be inclined to put first, were really only by-products. To us it must come as a surprise, and initially as a disappointment, that the major concern of the Greeks—and apparently in progressively increasing degree—was not so much the outlooks reflected in their classics as, using the word in its larger sense, their style. It is style that defines civilization and gives it continuity. A particular form may be emptied of its old content and be replenished; but if form is abandoned, and the flair which form betokens is lost, civilization must start anew.

It is worthwhile, for reasons beyond mere antiquarianism, to consider the history of the idea of the classic in the ancient world. The norms that define the idea are established in the Homeric poems, which to the Greeks were *the* classics. There is a difference between casual utterance and literature. Things worth saying to an audience could not be blurted out but had to be given appropriately dignified and artistic form. When, in the sixth century B.C., a statesman like Solon or a moralist like Theognis wishes to admonish his people he addresses them in elegiac verses. What could be more formal and more stylized than tragedy? People do not normally address each other in lines of verse, and their conversations are not normally punctuated by a group of elderly gentlemen who go into a stylized song and dance to tell how they feel about it all. The significant thing is that a Euripides, who is a deviationist and an innovator, must still be bound by the canons of form, so that to the casual eye his plays are not different from those of Aeschylus or Sophocles. Isocrates held that memorable utterance might properly be couched in prose, provided it was artistically wrought; and the writing of poetry stopped until it was revived in the Alexandrian age. The Alexandrian poets are criticized for being bookish and precious; they are so indeed, but their pious attention to the forms of the past amounted to a conscious program for preserving civilization when it was threatened by a new barbarism. Piety to traditional forms can be strikingly illustrated from the mimes of Herondas. When these were recovered from a papyrus at the turn of the century Herondas was hailed as the first outspoken realist, a writer completely uninhibited in his treatment of vulgar contemporary types. But for his meter, the scazon or limping iamb, Herondas goes back half a millennium to Hipponax, who made it standard for vulgarity. Herondas also borrows from Hipponax words grown obsolete, of whose meaning he is himself unsure.

The Greek author who sounds most like a contemporary in translation is Lucian, who lived in the second century A.D. Lucian's vocabulary and syntax and rhythms are not those that were in current use in his own day but those of the classics; it is quite as if a modern set himself to write in Elizabethan English. A modern who insisted on doing so we should regard as merely eccentric—unless he were at prayer. The psychology of Lucian in using archaic language was in fact very near the psychology of ritual. Religion, literature, philosophy, art, and manners were being corrupted, in the purist's view, by alien inroads; the proper prophylactic was reversion to the style of the classical outlooks, and the neatest expression of style in general is literary style. The extreme to which traditionalism could go is illustrated by Hermogenes, who was the most respected and prolific teacher of what we should call creative writing in Lucian's day. In one of his prefaces Hermogenes says, in so many words, that a mediocrity who takes his course is sure to become a better writer than a genius who does not. It is easy to heap up horrifying examples of the ludicrous lengths to which traditionalism could go, especially among the Byzantine writers, to whom Hermogenes was a bible; the thing to remember is that the forms did provide a channel for continuity, for it was through its forms that civilization became organic and transmissible.

Of the conserving force of form and style a spectacular example is afforded by the rebirth of the drama, as of other literary genres, in the humanist age. The drama of the Italian *rinascimento* is not a development out of antecedent folk performances but a complete innovation wholly inspired by the new interest in classical texts. The Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza was built according to the imperfectly understood prescriptions in a difficult chapter of Vitruvius' *De Architectura,* and the plays presented were first translations and then adaptations and then emulations of the ancient plays. To the intellectual profundity which moderns admire in ancient tragedy the creators of the new drama seem to have been totally deaf. What they did learn was form and style. The drama, they came to realize, is not buffoonery for a carnival mob but a dignified art form worthy of the serious efforts of the best artists and of the respectful attention of the most accomplished audiences. What the new drama learned from its progenitors and bequeathed to its posterity was the sense of style. The contribution of the Greek romances, which we regard as frivolous but which enjoyed a great vogue in the humanist age, is exactly parallel. To people who had known only the enormous and amorphous romances of Amadis of Gaul and the like, the existence of tightly constructed stories with beginning, middle, and end, with several strands of intricate plot held firmly in hand and skillfully brought together for a climactic conclusion, came as a revelation. The superficial borrowings from Heliodorus scattered through Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* are incidental; the principal thing that Sir Philip learned was the form, and it was the form that fostered the new sense of style.

Style was the thing that Greek educational theory was designed to foster and promote, and style is the principal item in the legacy the ancients bequeathed to the humanists. Style is the thing that teachers of humanistic subjects must cultivate with special care in a world in which style is on the defensive. How can we do it?

We teach style, first of all, through the most obvious and immediate and proven of all devices, the *logos,* beginning with its basic meaning "word," and then expanding to its fuller meanings of "rationale" and "discourse." Language is the most universal and most immediate vehicle for style, and because one's own language is too familiar and therefore too commonplace for easy study of the extra dimension of style, it is more effective and more economical to use a foreign language. Furthermore, the mechanical devices by which certain effects are achieved are easier to apprehend in a language that has fuller inflections, a more elaborate syntax, a more flexible word order, than English. Even very young students who suddenly realize mathematics in their souls will say with genuine feeling, "That is a beautiful problem." Many more are capable of realizing *logos* in their souls and say, or would say if they knew the word, "That is beautiful syntax."

Why is one expression used rather than its apparent synonym, what emphasis is given by an unusual word order, what is the logic of coordination and subordination, what degree of probability is indicated by various modal usages and by various means of expressing the protases and apodoses of conditions? Do alliteration and homoioteleuton and chiasmus and balanced rhythms contribute to a desired effect? Do the various species of tropes? Grammar and rhetoric are of course legitimate and profitable disciplines for their own sake, just as algebra is legitimate and profitable even for a student who will never have occasion to apply his knowledge of algebraic techniques. The great difference is that everyone is bound to apply his knowledge of grammar and rhetoric, either in fashioning his own discourse or in appreciating the discourse of others, for the salient and universal distinction of humanity is *logos.* What the student learns, at the most elementary level, is that significant utterance cannot be blurted out but must be artistically wrought. And when the artistry becomes effortless, discourse has achieved that style which characterizes civilization. This is how Isocrates put it in 380 B.C. in a speech which explains the bases of the eminence of Athens *(Panegyricus,* 47-50):

"Athens paid honor to eloquence, which all men desire, and begrudge to those who are skilled in it. For she was aware that this is the only distinguishing characteristic which we of all creatures possess, and that by this we have won our position of superiority to all the rest of them; she saw that in other spheres of action men's fortunes are so capricious that often in them the wise fail and the foolish succeed, and that the proper and skillful use of language is beyond the reach of men of poor capacity, but is the function of a soul of sound wisdom, and that those who are considered clever or stupid differ from each other mainly in this respect; she saw besides that men who have received a liberal education from the very first are not to be known by courage, or wealth, or suchlike advantages, but are most clearly recognized by their speech, and that this is the surest token which is manifested of the education of each one of us, and that those who make good use of language are not only influential in their own states, but also held in honor among other people. So far has Athens left the rest of mankind behind in thought expression that her pupils have become the teachers of the world."

This emphasis on style, I am aware, may seem a little yeasty, a little snobbish, a little precious, especially in the eyes of hard-headed school boards. I elaborate on it because I am a humanist by profession and because other advantages of the study of language are in less need of advocacy. I too hold, very firmly, that the study of language provides excellent intellectual discipline—though I stutter a little when I am called upon to prove that languages are superior to mathematics or logic in this respect. I too recognize the practical and even cultural advantages of being able to order a meal or ask the way to a comfort station in Paris or Moscow (here I must regretfully omit ancient Rome and Athens) and of being able to scan learned periodicals in foreign languages. But of one cultural advantage which study of foreign languages brings, where ancient Rome and Athens need not be omitted and where the commercial language schools abdicate, a few words must be said, because what is involved, again, are basic educational ideals.

Education par excellence, I have suggested, involves an understanding of the cultural experiences of the race, as broad in scope and as detailed as the years of schooling allow. Nothing is so effective for stretching the mind and for multiplying the planes of our own existence. We must look over the fence to see how our neighbor's garden is faring, not to copy it but to understand our own better. I teach Greek religion not because I am an evangelist for the Olympians nor yet because I wish to corroborate convictions of our own superiority, but because it is illuminating to know what other intelligent peoples have thought about the relations between the human and the divine. We are Americans of the mid-twentieth century: what a rich bounty it is to be at home, at the same time, in other pullulating centers of culture, remote in time or place! (Here, incidentally, I should myself rank Florence next after ancient Athens and Rome—like them, not only for its own achievements but for its seminal influence upon subsequent cultural history. That is why I deplore the almost total absence of Italian from our high school curriculums.)

There will always be someone to ask, confident of the answer, whether the most elastic program can provide enough hours for a student to read Don Quixote or Dante or Goethe or Homer in the original, whether the ability to creep through a few hundred lines haltingly is worth the strenuous effort it costs, whether, granting the desirability of looking over fences, a wider and fuller and easier vista might not be enjoyed through the lenses of translations and courses in the civilization of this or that area. The answer cannot be simple. No teacher can be so self-righteous and so selfish as to deny knowledge of the classics he possesses to those who cannot read them in the original. In remoter and more alien areas, courses in civilization can be extremely useful. In my own segment, courses surveying the literature and art and public and private antiquities of Greece and of Rome are completely justifiable. Such courses certainly, and courses in translations preferably, should be taught by persons competent in the relevant languages. But it should be clear that such courses may be supplements or alternatives, where students have no time or taste for language, but not substitutes for language study. Quite apart from the substantive value of the study of language for its own sake, language is the best introduction to the ethos of the people who spoke and wrote it, and the exposition of texts, however fragmentarily and haltingly read, provides a more meaningful introduction to the relevant civilization than treatises devoted to the subject. In my own institution students who take courses in given languages never go into classes in the relevant literature in translation or in the civilization.

So far I have spoken as a member of the larger community of humanistic language teachers; now I must say a word for my own parish. I will begin by asserting boldly that all the advantages that inhere in language study, with the exception of ordering meals and asking directions, are present more abundantly in the study of Latin or Greek, and that study of the ancient languages is the most effective introduction and preparation for the study of the modern. To resume seriatim, their fuller spectrum of grammatical forms and their elaborate but perfectly systematic and easily recognizable syntactical variables make these languages an ideal subject for mental discipline, the best foundation for the appreciation of style in both the narrower and broader sense, and, of greatest importance to teachers of modern languages, the most effective introduction to the architecture of discourse. In Latin and Greek the various kinds of subordination, of conditional sentences, of constructions within indirect discourse, are differentiated by specific symbols and made as perspicuous and verifiable as mathematical equations. All the other languages we teach have these same equations in the background, but with the signposts which identify them more or less blurred. For the student who possesses the architecture of Latin, analogy itself, even with signposts missing, makes the architecture of the modern languages perspicuous; he is enabled to grasp its ethos more surely because he has a gauge for recognizing deviations. For any young student of language Latin is not only an effective but an economical introduction. In certain other subjects there may be a question whether the limited time allowed them in the total educational span had better be placed in high school or in college; in the case of Latin or Greek I have no doubt that the time specified should be allotted to the high school, because Latin is so effective an introduction to other linguistic study. And not the least of the elements for which Latin is an effective introduction is the factor of style. In no other language, I think, is such care taken that significant utterance be not simply blurted out.

Of the importance of Greece and Rome as essential items in the intellectual baggage of civilized Europeans it is surely unnecessary to speak here. Whatever chauvinism each of us may have or however we may be swayed by our individual vested interests, each of us would give the ancients second place after the object of our own loyalties. After Salamis, when the Greek officers were voting for the individual who had contributed most to the victory, each voted himself the first place and Themistocles the second. It is no discredit to the civilizations more nearly contemporary with our own to say that the ancients exhibit more significant differences from our own than do our contemporaries, and therefore offer wider opportunities for stretching minds, and that the formative influence of the ancients upon our literature and philosophy, our political institutions, our outlooks and aspirations are so basic that the new cannot be fully understood without reference to the old. It is not alone for their substantive value then that the ancients are worth study, but for the basis they provide for the study of the moderns. Just as the ancient languages are useful as an introduction to the study of the modern, so are the ancient civilizations also. The one thing that all the manifestations of the ancient civilizations communicate, their language no less than their art, are canons of taste—the style that is civilization. Such communication, I have suggested, is the main concern of humanistic teachers of language.

I trust that my advocacy of my own brand of chauvinism and vested interest has not been too vehement. There should and need be no rivalry between teachers of the classical languages and teachers of modern languages, for their goal is the same. All that I ask is that we teachers of the classical languages be allowed to cooperate, for we are able to help in achieving the goal.

Modern Languages for a Changing World

by Stephen A. Freeman

Communication is the basis of all human progress. It is the essential feature of any social group. Man must share the thoughts and experiences of his neighbor. He must have something in common with him; he must commune with him. This communion is not necessarily verbal; it may be silent, and even psychic. The opposite is just as true. The lack of communication is at the root of most of the ills and evils from which this world suffers. The inability to understand what is in our neighbor's mind, the absence of a common ground of understanding, is the cause of strife more often than a real conflict of interest.

Modern man has given much thought to the problem of communication. The newspaper, radio, and television have been developed to a high point of perfection—unless a breakdown in communication in one of them leads to a strike. A government mail service aids individual communication. Hearing aids and the Braille alphabet aid those who suffer from a particular handicap in communication. Colleges teach courses in mass media of communication and prepare students for careers in this area.

Nevertheless, when all is done, man still does not communicate successfully with his fellow man. Many and complex are the reasons for the failure—physical and mental and moral differences, temperament, and social or cultural background. The dock laborer does not communicate with the Wall Street banker; the way-out beatnik has no communion with a member of the D.A.R.

The most obvious reason is, of course, the difference in language. There are about 3,000 languages and major dialects in the world; and there are unnumbered minor dialects, some of which prevent even members of the same village in Africa or Asia from understanding each other. This is an underlying cause for the tendency to political fragmentation which we see throughout the world, especially in the underdeveloped countries. The 25 million Sikhs of India, who speak Panjabi, have been trying to force Nehru to create an independent state for them, separate from the speakers of Hindi. Nigeria is struggling to hold together three major nations, with more than a hundred different languages. The obstacles presented to even elementary literacy are enormous. Children in the primary schools of Kenya must first learn to read in their own village dialect, then in Swahili, and finally in English, before they can go on to secondary school. The Peruvian government has contracted with an American group of linguists (the Summer School of Linguistics) to study the Indian dialects in the tribes on the Amazon slopes of the Andes, to prepare elementary teaching materials in them, so that these children may learn to read and write their own language before beginning to learn Spanish. In Chile, the Araucanian Indians, and in Ecuador and Peru the Quechua tribes, cling tenaciously to their traditional language, which few of them read or write. The illiteracy count is thus as high as 50 per cent in Ecuador.

Here in the United States, responsive to our position of world leadership, we have an ideal of a free and peaceful world community in which all men of all nations will understand each other and work together as neighbors for the common good. In the present state of world communication and international understanding, this ideal seems far away on a distant horizon. Human history is the long recital of conflicts between peoples who break down the physical barriers that separate them, without breaking down the barriers of ideas. Man is enemy to man, as Pascal says, because truth is always on this side of the Pyrenees; error always on the other side. The Berlin Wall is but the inevitable physical expression of the Iron Curtain.

Twentieth-century science has now almost annihilated space; all mankind sits on each others' doorstep. But the barriers of ideas still remain. Science has hurried total strangers into close physical contact, we gather round a table with peoples whose languages we do not speak, either linguistically or spiritually; and the contact is often distasteful to all concerned. Until we have established real communication, until we understand not only what they say, but what they think, how they think, and why they think as they do, there will be no communion between us; we shall not be members of the same community. The barriers of thought that separate us from the Russians and the Chinese, even from the French and the English, will yield not to a more powerful atomic device, nor to a bigger computer, but eventually to the patient, mutual pursuit and sharing of truth by human minds.

Here then is the real challenge of a changing world to the American people and to our educational system. It is a fundamental duty of our American education to expand its horizon to teach the complete interdependence and the consequent need for intercommunication of all mankind. Our community is now the world, and there is no longer any room for provincial thinking. "No man is an island"; no nation is an island, not in economics nor in politics, and much less on the plane of ideas. Science learned this lesson long ago. One of the most inspiring pages I have ever read was written by Raymond Fosdick, in his report as president of the Rockefeller Foundation, in the dark days of the war in 1941. I should like to quote from four paragraphs:

"If we are to have a durable peace after the war," he writes, it must be remembered that "the intellectual life of the world . . . is definitely internationalized, and whether we wish it or not an indelible pattern of unity has been woven into the society of mankind.

"There is not an area of activity in which this cannot be illustrated. An American soldier wounded on a battlefield in the Far East owes his life to the Japanese scientist, Kitasato, who isolated the bacillus of tetanus. A Russian soldier saved by a blood transfusion is indebted to Landsteiner, an Austrian. A German soldier is shielded from typhoid fever with the help of a Russian, Metchnikoff. A Dutch marine in the East Indies is protected from malaria because of the experiments of an Italian, Grassi; while a British aviator in North Africa escapes death from surgical infection because a Frenchman, Pasteur, and a German, Koch, elaborated a new technique.

"In peace as in war we are all of us the beneficiaries of contributions to knowledge made by every nation in the world. Our children are guarded from diphtheria by what a Japanese and a German did; they are protected from smallpox by an Englishman's work; they are saved from rabies because of a Frenchman; they are cured of pellagra through the researches of an Austrian. From birth to death they are surrounded by an invisible host—the spirits of men who never thought in terms of flags or boundary lines and who never served a lesser loyalty than the welfare of mankind.

"... ideas cannot be hedged in behind geographical barriers. Thought cannot be nationalized. The fundamental unity of civilization is the unity of its intellectual life."[1]

The whole basis of American education has changed in the last 25 years, as a result of the changed role of the United States in the world. America has had world leadership thrust upon it. The picture of the monolingual, isolationist, 100 per cent American of 1938 is now acknowledged to be as out of date as the bustle or the celluloid collar. Next came the concept of the rich, powerful United States, superior in know-how, science, and culture to all the rest of the world, especially Russia. Then came the space rockets, and an opportunity to "get wisdom, and with all our getting, to get understanding."

Up to now, American leadership has been largely based upon the power of the American economic and industrial system—upon our wealth, our materials, our efficiency. If America is to become a real leader, rather than feared and hated, its leadership must henceforth be based upon a complete understanding, both by our government, and by our entire people, of the problems, the motives, the fears and the hopes of other peoples, all around the globe. The American public has much to learn before it will accomplish this, and the principal lesson it must learn is an open-minded humility, that willingness to listen and learn, upon which depends all real intercommunication.

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[1] *The Rockefeller Foundation: A Review for 1941* (New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1941), pp. 10-12.

It must next be admitted that, even though willing, the American public is poorly prepared linguistically for effective international communication. Let us look at a few samples of the world situation. I mentioned above the Panjabi situation in India, the ambitions of 25 million Sikhs. To the best of my knowledge no one is studying Panjabi in the United States at present. The Hindi-Urdu complex of languages is spoken by 150 million people on earth, the third most common language in the world. Hindi is offered as a regular study by 14 universities, with a total enrollment of about 100; (only 14 were enrolled three years ago). Two years ago, there was a critical situation on the west coast of India, around Bombay, because of the rivalry between 28 million speakers of Marathi and the 20 million speakers of Gujerati, two major languages of the Eastern world. Only the University of Pennsylvania offers instruction in them, and last year there was a single student enrolled in each. Sinhalese, the official language of Ceylon, with nearly 8 million speakers, is offered at the University of Pennsylvania with nobody enrolled.

Africa, another area that needs enlightened American diplomacy, presents a similar picture. Swahili, the lingua franca of the whole East Coast, and the key to communication there, is studied in four American universities by a handful of students. None of the major tribal languages of the East Coast—Kikuyu, Masai—are known here. I mentioned the situation in Nigeria and the language difficulties there. Seven students are studying Ewe at the University of California at Los Angeles and Hartford Seminary; 11 are studying Yoruba at Howard University and Michigan State University; 2 are studying Twi at Hartford Seminary; nobody, until the summer of 1963 at Michigan State University, was interested in learning the other key languages of Nigeria—Fanti, Hausa, Ibo.

Bantu, the basic language of most of black Africa, is taught only by one small religious college, for five students. If we consider the situation in North Africa important and even critical for the peace of the world, why are the strategic Berber languages of the nomad tribes being studied by only one student, at the University of California at Los Angeles? Bengali, spoken by 67 million people in India and Pakistan, is offered at only the University of Chicago, Texas A. & M., and Columbia University, with 12 students enrolled. There were none three years ago.

Much progress has been made in the universities during the last five years under the National Defense Education Act. The Office of Education has set up many programs in the six languages defined as having top priority —Arabic, Chinese, Hindi, Japanese, Portuguese, and Russian. Enrollments have increased sharply in these. Eighteen languages were listed for second priority, and some are now being studied in the United States for the first time. Sixty other important world languages were listed as having third priority. The Modern Language Association, through its Foreign Language Program, has furthered the work through surveys and the dissemination of information. A Center for Applied Linguistics has been created in Washington, D. C., for the development of teaching materials and the training of linguists in this work. Interest and activity have really been awakened; the American public is now aware of the importance of language study in the national interest.

There is still a tragic lag, however, between what we know is necessary, and what we are actually doing. The gains in enrollment in the common languages—French, German, Spanish—both in secondary school and in the colleges, are significant, but the numbers are still far from satisfactory. Of all the public high schools in the entire United States, only about 60 per cent offer the study of any modern foreign language. Of all the students in our public high schools, only about 21 per cent are enrolled in any modern foreign language class. Of all the high school students who enroll in a modern foreign language, not more than 20 per cent pursue their study longer than two years. If we agree that it takes a very minimum of three years of study under school conditions to approach the ability to communicate readily in a language, we cannot be very happy about the estimate that less than 4 per cent of our young people attain it. And this is in the most common languages. Nearly all the 3,000 languages and major dialects of the world must necessarily remain beyond the scope of our high schools and even of our undergraduate colleges.

Since American education must do everything in its power to solve this desperate problem of international communication, we must now ask ourselves how the study of modern languages can best contribute to the solution, and what role it should play in our educational program. All education has three major objectives: the acquisition of a tool skill which will be useful on a practical basis in the performance of other tasks; social adjustment, preparation for becoming a member of a small or large community; and cultural or humanistic development, the enrichment of the individual spirit and the full fruition of his potentialities as a human being. Modern-language study, like the other basic studies of a curriculum, satisfies all three objectives. In the proper study of a modern language one seeks first to master the use of the language as a tool for all kinds of communication; second, to extend one's social horizon to include the world community, to learn to think in international terms; and third, to undergo the enriching experience of new and different thought and culture patterns. As the Modern Language Association has pointed out, these objectives are inseparably linked; they are really a single objective, and the same method of study will accomplish all three. The study of a foreign language is both a progressive experience and the progressive acquisition of a skill. At no point can the experience be considered complete, nor the skill perfect. At any point, however, the progress made under a correct method will have positive value, and will lay a foundation upon which further progress can be built.[2]

Let us look more closely at these three objectives. No one doubts nowadays the usefulness of a foreign language as a tool. We must recognize however that the knowledge of a foreign language is not useful unless it can serve for the communication desired. This varies widely with the situation. A historian who wishes to read a text needs a type and level of skill different from that of the monitor of a foreign radio broadcast. A tourist in a foreign land uses a skill that differs from that of a research chemist, or a career diplomat, or a Peace Corps volunteer. As the greatest common denominator, the student should be able to speak the language with some fluency and correctness, with a good accent, for personal communication; should understand a native speaking at normal speed; and should read adult prose easily without a dictionary. This "reasonable mastery" should be the minimal objective in a school situation. It cannot be acquired in the two-year classroom sequence which is the standard in far too many schools and colleges. More time, much laboratory practice, and some personal experience in a foreign-language situation are needed before we can speak confidently of a real "tool skill." Three years in a school situation should be an absolute minimum; and it is far better to concentrate on a three or four-year sequence in a single language, than to take the traditional program of two years in each of two languages.

We must be honest in recognizing that the student can never know in advance in which foreign language he will need to specialize, for vocational or utilitarian purposes. There are too many different languages in the world, too many different uses for a language, and too few languages being taught in our schools, to give a student a very good chance of picking just the right one. It is true, of course, that a mastery of one foreign language tends to make the learning of another easier, not only when the languages are similar in vocabulary or structure, as in the case of the Romance languages, but also because the student has become more aware of linguistic phenomena, the mechanics of pronunciation and intonation, the forms and variants of words, the syntax of word groups.

Most important of all, our American young people should be urged to study a foreign language—any common foreign language, it matters little which one—to the point of mastery, so that they may be convinced that a foreign language can be acquired as a tool, and that no foreign language, however rare or difficult, need have any terrors for them. We must at least show every American boy and girl the simple fact that a foreign language is a handy medium of communication used by millions of people, that little children learn it and speak it fluently without any knowledge of grammar; in other words, that they can learn to use any foreign language with a little patience and with a good method. We must destroy the old notion that Americans are monolingual and for some reason incapable of learning foreign languages. Some Americans may have more language aptitude than others, because some people have a better ear than others; but if a boy can learn to speak and write English, one of the most difficult of the world languages, he can learn in time to use any foreign language, whether it be Japanese or Tibetan, if given proper motivation and proper instruction.

The second major objective of all education is to prepare the student for life in his social community. Under the life-adjustment doctrine, our public schools have stressed the democratic ideal and education for citizenship. Courses in American and local history, civics, and problems of democracy are required. The social science approach tends however to center on the United States, and even on the local social group. But our horizon is now the world, and our community is an international one. Preparation for community living must include international understanding. If America is to become the real leader that the times demand, its leadership must be based on a complete comprehension, by our government and by our entire people as well, of the motives and the problems, the hopes and the fears, the thought processes of other peoples all around the globe.

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[2] "Values of Foreign Language Study," in "FL Program Policy," *PMLA*, September 1956, p. xiv.

The study of a modern foreign language (as a Modern Language Association statement points out[3]) makes three valuable contributions to this process, two of which are made by no other part of the curriculum. When we use our neighbor's language to communicate with him, we not only have a more direct and effective understanding, but we prove to him in the most convincing way that we wish to be a good neighbor, that we want to meet him halfway. Insistence on the use of English in our dealings not only limits the area and the clarity of our understanding, but says quite pointedly to our neighbor: "Anything that you can't say to me in English isn't worth listening to."

Language learning is also the direct experience of a foreign culture. From the beginning, through direct comprehension without translation and through the increasingly automatic imitation of speech patterns, the student shares and participates in the culture– that is, the social behavioral pattern—of another people. He crosses a cultural frontier and begins to realize that he can make foreign responses to foreign stimuli, without going through English. The greatest natural enemies of international understanding are those very human fears, suspicions, prejudices, and antipathies which are psychological reactions to "foreign-ness." When one learns a foreign language, one begins at once to lose the sense of strangeness toward the people as well as toward their mode of expression. Add to these achievements the acquisition of information about the foreign people and their civilization, both from material read and from the teacher. The social sciences can impart this information too, in some cases more easily, but direct communication with another people and the personal experience of another culture are the unique contributions of language study.

The third objective of all education, and the most important one, is the humanistic ideal. Here, the study of a foreign language makes its most valuable contribution. Learning a new language is a new intellectual experience of a very personal and stimulating kind. It has often been remarked that a person acquires a different personality in a foreign tongue. The student immediately discovers that other peoples express themselves differently but just as effectively. He finds that all thoughts are not cast into English molds. Since words shape thoughts, he comes next to the important realization that other people think different thoughts, so different as to be contradictory, but at the same time just as logical, reasoned, profound as American thoughts. This shock provides one of the basic elements of the humanistic ideal.

The student who has to make a struggle to understand a sentence in a foreign language, trying first to get the meaning directly and to discover the shadings and distinctions of sense, then attempting to translate it into English, and often coming to the conclusion that "it can't be said in English," is developing an intellectual muscle that will enable him to think deeply on his own. The study of a foreign language imparts a humanistic value from the very early lessons, as when the young pupil visualizes the difference between the real image in "au revoir" or "hasta la vista" and the stereotyped archaic English "goodby." From that point to the most complicated aspects of the analysis of a foreign thought and culture, the student finds a constant challenge to compare and to distinguish, to ask new questions, to enrich his mind with different concepts, to understand his native symbols of communication better, and to mature as an independently thinking individual.

The changing world has brought many new and increased needs for the study of modern languages. At the same time, important changes in the academic world have brought and will continue to bring significant changes in the learning of modern languages. (Parenthetically, I want to note the remarkable set of prophecies that William R. Parker included in the 1961 revision of his pamphlet, "The National Interest and Foreign Languages."[4])

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[3] "FLs and International Understanding," in "FL Program Policy," *PMLA*, September 1956, pp. xvi-xvii.

[4] Prepared for the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

One of the most important of these changes is the rapid development of programs for teaching modern languages in the elementary school (known as FLES). About one and a quarter million children in 8,000 schools are learning a foreign language at the grade school level, usually beginning at grade 3. The many advantages of beginning early are known to all: young children are naturally curious about language, they imitate sounds and speech patterns most easily, have the fewest inhibitions, and most easily accept different or "foreign" concepts. By beginning in grade 3, a pupil can now, in a well-organized school system, secure an uninterrupted sequence of 10 years, sufficient to acquire a real mastery of a foreign language. European schools, whose usual program of five or six years of language study was so superior to our old pattern of "two each of two," do not provide a 10-year sequence. By concentrating on hearing and speaking and pronunciation in the early years and on syntax and cultural information and writing in the later years, a high school graduate can achieve all the goals of the study of a particular language proper for his age level.

Even when the full 10-year sequence is not available, a good six-year sequence is increasingly available in the good schools. The better junior high schools now consider it standard practice to begin a foreign language in grade 7. When a pupil is wisely guided, and proper coordination with the senior high school exists, he has six years of sequential work on a language and can achieve real control of it.

The result is that we can look forward to the time when colleges will not need to offer beginning courses in French and Spanish, and in some cases not even in German. Every entering freshman will not only have the presently required two years of a language, but he will be ready for an advanced course in literature or civilization. College teachers have long been saying that beginning courses in the common European languages do not belong in a college curriculum, any more than arithmetic or spelling. The day seems to be approaching when the theory will become a fact. At Middlebury College, as in many colleges in the Northeast, the enrollments in beginning French are only a small fraction of the enrollments in the upper intermediate courses, and we are almost at the point of canceling beginning French.

The next step is for other branches of the curriculum to use this competence more generally, to require students to use their French or Spanish or German in their reading and research in history, political science, sociology, and even in the sciences. Students are even now more ready to do this than their professors are to direct and check on their work, for it frequently happens that the student reads a foreign language more readily than his professor in these fields. It is regrettable that other courses in the college curriculum do not use more extensively this acquired tool skill. It would create greater interest and challenge in both areas, give valuable practice to the skill and demonstrate the international character of all knowledge. In any case, the students will increasingly be able to profit from an advanced course in the literature and culture of the foreign country, taught in the language, and with extensive readings in the original works, instead of in translations or in scrappy anthologies.

This situation will make it possible for college students to begin as undergraduates one of the critical languages. It is manifestly unwise for a student to begin two foreign languages at the same time, or even to begin a second until the first is well under control. But if he comes to college with six years of French or Spanish or German, there is every reason for him to begin Russian or Japanese or Arabic or Hindi as a freshman. Indeed, this is the major reason why instruction in Russian can now be offered in more than 500 colleges in the country. In nearly every case, the student already has a good knowledge of a first foreign language. Many undergraduates, having satisfied the requirement in a European language begin at once on another, less commonly studied language. It is even possible in this way to major in it. About 20 undergraduates majored last year in Japanese. As the colleges are relieved of the burden of teaching beginning language, they will be financially more able to add staff in the other languages, to offer courses in them, and also to amplify the cultural courses in the European languages.

Another major change in the picture is the tremendous growth of foreign study programs, both summer and winter. The enthusiasm among young Americans to study abroad knows no bounds; almost every undergraduate has a dream of a summer or a year abroad. This year 25,000 young Americans are studying overseas; more than half are undergraduates. Many are in programs organized by more than a hundred American colleges; but more than a third are "on their own," blissfully uninformed about the basic differences between the American and the European or South American educational systems, and the difficulties of equating courses and credits for transfer back home. Not only the United States colleges, but various "foreign study institutes"—some with only a post-office box address—travel agencies, and airlines are organizing travel-study tours, with vague promises about credits to be received. As a Carnegie Corporation quarterly report said last year, many of the study-abroad programs are "shallow in conception and shoddy in execution."[5] Some colleges are frankly using a study-abroad program as a glamorous gimmick to stimulate enrollments while putting no burden on campus facilities and staff. Thousands more young Americans go abroad during the summer, either for reputable summer study programs, or in the well-managed Experiment in International Living which promises no credits, or simply in "sun-and-fun" grand tours which make a pretense of study by a few orientation lectures.

The enthusiasm for foreign travel and study is working down into the secondary school level, and there are already many organizations that sponsor trips for high school students abroad, either for a summer or a term. For example, the American Field Service places teenagers in homes in Europe or Latin America for a stay of a few weeks. Under the Indiana Honors Program, which is aided by a Carnegie Corporation grant, high school juniors spend a year in France, Germany, or Mexico.

It is inevitable that these young people will come back with a better knowledge of the foreign language, at least in oral expression. Regardless of the quality, or lack of it, in the formal class instruction they receive, rubbing elbows with Frenchmen or Germans or Italians in subways, cafés, and theaters is a powerful incentive to learning to talk French or German or Italian. They return with greater confidence in their ability to use any foreign language and a stimulus to extend their abilities. This is reflected in a greater interest in the foreign culture and in a willingness to try other, less commonly taught languages, when they need them in their profession.

A third significant change is the trend toward evaluating language study less by the amount of time spent on it than by the actual competence acquired. It used to be assumed, mistakenly, that a year of enrollment in a language class was a measure of achievement. Requirements for admission to college, or for a degree, were and still are too often stated in terms of years or semester hours of sitting in a language class. It was readily admitted that the product varied widely: some could speak the language after three years, most couldn't; some had read a lot; some had learned to repeat grammar rules and conjugate verbs. But few people thought that anything could be done about it, or that any other measure was possible. Now under the Foreign Language Program of the Modern Language Association, two series of Proficiency Tests are solving this problem. The Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students, prepared under the direction of Wilmarth Starr, are already in use. The second battery, the Cooperative Foreign Language Tests, prepared under the direction of Nelson Brooks, will be ready for general use in schools and colleges in the fall of 1963. The Cooperative Tests will have elementary and advanced forms, and norms will be established for classes from junior high school to the sophomore year in college. The modern languages will be the first and only discipline to have standardized and reliable instruments to measure the actual proficiency of its teachers and students.

The far-reaching significance of this development is hard to realize. It will have great impact on college requirements, both for admission and for graduation, since students will be required to attain a certain proficiency, regardless of how it is acquired. Time-serving will not count; and students will be able to satisfy a requirement by summer study, foreign residence and study, supervised work in a laboratory, or in many other ways, provided the required level of skills is attained.

Teachers will be employed in the same way. Certification will eventually be based on proficiency, as proven by scores on these tests, regardless of how the proficiency is acquired, plus the proof of a certain amount of personal contact with the foreign country and its culture and proof of an understanding of the American pupil. In this way, we shall be able to use many people who would be competent language teachers, such as Peace Corps returnees, but are now barred from the profession by the lack of registrars' documents showing enrollment in specific courses for a specific length of time. The clerk with an adding machine in a board of education office has too long dominated the qualification machinery for our secondary school teachers—machinery that has excluded or failed to recognize many competent persons while protecting the incompetent. The language profession has taken a long step forward to break this hold and at the same time assure real quality of performance.

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[5] Quoted by Donald Shank in "American Student Abroad," *Mademoiselle*, August 1962, p. 232.

The fascinating, explosive development of mechanical aids to language learning presents another influential change. Within the last 10 years, language study has been revolutionized by the use of electronic and other equipment. Ten years ago, a few schools had a "laboratory" consisting of a few phonographs. Today, hundreds of commercial companies advertise thousands of varieties of classroom and laboratory mechanisms—consoles for hundreds of positions, tape and disc recorders and playbacks, earphones, microphones, control and mixing switches, monitoring devices, fool-proof cabinets with endless tape-loops; tape libraries and recorded lessons on millions of miles of tapes. No self-respecting school or college can now afford to be without a laboratory, and high-pressure salesmen sell to superintendents of schools, to the tune of five figures, whether or not the local language teacher has the faintest notion of how the expensive and complicated equipment is to be used. Experimentation continues also with teaching machines, in an effort to program the elements of a foreign language according to the best dictates of linguistic analysis and elicit the rewarded responses in the largest possible proportion of cases. The radio as a teaching medium was soon outmoded by the television set, and Parlons Français in Boston now claims 2 million watching and listening pupils for its regular series of lessons broadcast over 45 stations. Not to be outdone, the Middle West sent its language television broadcasts aloft by airplane, for greater geographical coverage.

All this is good, even though it is typically American in its confidence in the bigger and more expensive. In its best aspects, and under intelligent direction, mechanical instruction in a language gives great impetus to the individual learning of a foreign language for oral communication. It has dramatized the business of language study; it appeals to the imagination of students; it stimulates initiative and rivalry. It must be used with wisdom, however, and with an understanding of its limitations. It cannot replace the teacher, for human guidance and advice are always necessary in the educational process. But within proper limits, intelligently used mechanical aids will augment tremendously the numbers and the achievements of modern-language students.

One more example among the many great changes taking place in the modern-language picture is the development of the language and area centers. Immediately after World War II, a number of so-called language and area programs were instituted in many colleges. They were not particularly successful at the undergraduate level, in point of quality; and they were found also to be expensive. Their real development began with the National Defense Education Act of 1958 which instituted under Title VI a three-part program. It has established or aided language and area centers in 53 universities, with support on a matching basis, which now offer instruction in 66 uncommon languages. It has granted fellowships to more than 1,600 graduate students for the study of 62 languages, excluding French, German, and Italian; about half of them work for a Ph.D. in the language. And it has supported research projects in 120 languages, especially for the production of instructional materials—grammars, dictionaries, and readers. The very great progress made during the last four years in the situation described earlier in this paper is due largely to the efforts of the 135 language and area centers, many of them subsidized by the NDEA. Students in Hindi-Urdu have increased from 14 to 100 in three years; 50 students at the University of Wisconsin Summer Session are studying the civilization of India; 40 in a summer program at Michigan State University are studying African civilization and learning an African language; enrollments in Chinese have tripled and in Japanese have doubled in three years.

One of the great values of this "center concept," as Donald Bigelow, chief of the Language and Area Centers Section, calls it, is that it draws together the various disciplines—language teachers on the one hand, and teachers of the area disciplines (history, sociology, geography, economics) on the other—strengthening them mutually and stimulating interdisciplinary growth.[6] The influence of these centers has moved down quickly to the undergraduate level. Seeing the possibility of graduate fellowships, students have wisely begun a critical language in their sophomore or junior year and have often taken advantage of the introductory courses in a non-Western civilization. Not only have they advanced their professional careers, but they have broadened their liberal arts education. At the same time, federal support to these centers has emphasized the need for a vastly increased horizon in our national interest and has added another dimension to the changing curriculum of American education.

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[6] "The Center Concept and the Changing Curriculum," *Higher Education,* July 1962. pp. 12-16; 27-28.

During the past 10 years, the Modern Language Association, under the leadership of William R. Parker and Winchester Stone, has been a dynamic force for progress. With the aid, since 1958, of the NDEA, through the Office of Education and the team directed by Kenneth W. Mildenberger, data have been gathered to create an informed public opinion; the training of language teachers has been greatly improved; materials for better language teaching have been designed; and the profession has been mobilized for constructive action as never before.

Thus the study of modern languages is changing and improving, in response to the new and increasing needs for competence in the languages of this changing world. America has an opportunity and a duty to provide world leadership in critical times. It now needs thousands of citizens who have a fluent mastery of the hundreds of major languages of the world. More important still, it needs a whole people who are willing to try to understand the minds and hearts of other peoples, their needs, problems, and fears. Our young people will early master a second language and be ready to learn a third and a fourth, any other language of the earth, when the need arises. At the same time, they will learn about the other country and its different ways of speaking and thinking and doing, so that there will be no "foreign" people. We shall listen, too, and learn from other peoples; and we shall communicate, we shall commune together, as friends.

The Contribution of Linguistics to Language Teaching and Language Learning

by Albert H. Marckwardt

It is the path of discretion, perhaps, to begin a paper bearing a title such as this with a series of disclaimers. I do not propose to discuss a presumed "linguistic method" of teaching a foreign or second language. I have no intention of claiming that a linguistically oriented approach to teaching a foreign language will automatically eliminate all difficulties or that it will produce hitherto unheard-of results. I shall not presume to suggest that until 5 or 10 years ago no foreign-language teachers were performing effectively in the classroom. In short, I have no new magic; I do not believe that foreign languages can be taught or learned without effort.

Despite my reluctance to assume the role of shaman, I can see a valid reason for discussing this topic. There is a necessary and inevitable connection between the body of organized and systematic knowledge about the structure and functioning of language, which we call linguistics, and the way in which a teacher proceeds to impart to his students a degree of competence in a particular language, or the way in which a pupil may set about learning a particular language. In short, what I propose to discuss is the relationship between the body of assumptions and factual data pertaining to a specific science and one particular application of it, in this instance the mastering of a language.

We may best begin, I believe, with a restatement of the distinction between pure and applied science, a distinction made in virtually every scientific field. An orderly and systematic extension of the boundaries of knowledge may be thought of as constituting an advance in pure science. The employment of that knowledge in connection with specific human situations, usually to ameliorate them, falls into the category of applied science. Both physics and chemistry find applications in various types of engineering. These, with geology, form the basis for metallurgy. The agriculturist makes practical use of botany and chemistry, to name only two.

Before going into a detailed consideration of the particular science that concerns us here, I should note that it is by no means unusual for the application of scientific knowledge to lag considerably behind its development or discovery. Charles C. Fries has pointed out on numerous occasions that although Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood in 1608, George Washington was bled for pneumonia in 1798, almost two centuries later. It has taken decades to translate what we know of the chemistry of soils into farm practices the world over. In many areas of teaching, the lag between new developments in content and theory on the research level and classroom application on the pedagogical level is equally evident.

The purpose here is to consider one particular application of the science of language. We may profitably begin by citing the now familiar characterization of language as patterned human social behavior. In terms of such a characterization, the science of language would then consist of an orderly and systematized description of the patterns of any one language, a dialect or an idiolect of that language, or of a group or family of languages. Such a description must be made with all the rigor, the clear recognition of basic assumptions, the avoidance of circularity that any statement normally requires if it is to merit the label scientific. In short, linguistics seeks to isolate and characterize all the components of a linguistic system and to determine how they function. As long as we are on this level, we may think of ourselves as being in the realm of pure science.

It will be helpful to digress just long enough to mention a few applications of the science of language that are somewhat removed from our immediate concern of foreign-language teaching. Spelling reform, at least in a language with an orthographic system as utterly insane as ours, comes to mind immediately. This could be achieved only with reference to what is known about phonemics and graphemics. A related application would be the development of alphabets for the hundreds of languages that do not now have them. There is also the question of whether or not an international language is at all feasible. I don't know whether it is. But if one is going to be devised, we would again have to take into account what we know about the structure of language. Every one of these illustrates a possible application of what we now know about the science of language to an extremely pressing social and human problem.

And finally, as a way or means of applying the science of language, there is the problem that all of us face professionally, that of teaching either the native language or a foreign or second language. It would seem logical that in order to achieve this, we must take into consideration the most accurate, most nearly complete, and most economical way of describing a language and pattern our presentation upon that. We must take into consideration everything that we know about the way in which a person acquires his first language and expands his command of it, and we must apply this with due allowances to the learning of a second language.

We must recognize, first of all, that our concepts of language and language structure have undergone a considerable alteration particularly during the past 30 years, although portents of an impending change are clearly evident as early as the turn of the century. Unfortunately, in the United States at least, the increase in knowledge in both the fields of linguistic and literary studies has led to so much specialization that scholars in the two disciplines can no longer communicate with each other easily. A few like myself are sufficiently at home in both that we are considered to be linguists by our literary colleagues and as students of literature by our linguistic associates. But we are in the minority, and possibly schizophrenic as well.

Nevertheless, linguistics, as it has developed during the past three decades has placed considerable emphasis upon certain ideas and concepts which I believe to be not only useful to the foreign-language classroom teacher but virtually essential to the successful pursuit of his craft. What are the ideas, the fundamental concepts, the beliefs about language that have come out of the recent developments in linguistic science, and how may these be effectively applied to the problem of teaching a foreign language? Let me review briefly some of the features of the linguistic scientist's view of language that bear upon this problem.

The first has to do with what the linguist often speaks of as the primacy of the spoken language—and I may say that he is misunderstood or misinterpreted almost every time that he speaks in these terms. What he means is that the essence of a language considered as patterned behavior is to be found in the vocal manifestation of that behavior.

Frequently the written form of a language fails to reveal either the signals or the patterning of a linguistic structure. For example, noun plurals in English constitute a very neat arrangement, with the voiceless inflection [s] following such voiceless consonants as [t] or [f] as in *cats* or *cuffs,* the phonetically voiced [z] following such voiced sounds as [g] or [v] as in *dogs, eaves* (to say nothing of all the vowels), and such sibilants as [z] or [tʃ] being accompanied by the [əz] inflection as in *noses, churches.* The patterning here is immediately apparent; it occurs not merely with noun plurals but with genitives and with the third person, present indicative singular of most verbs as well, yet our writing system shows it only very imperfectly.

To take just one further instance in which writing wholly conceals an important structural element of the language, let us suppose that someone makes the statement, "Mr. Jones has gone downtown." The person addressed follows with the interrogative that in writing can only be spelled *w - h - e - r - e -* , interrogation point. There is only one way of writing this word; there are two distinct ways of pronouncing it. Suppose I say "Where?" with a falling intonation. This would be understood as a request for more precise information: what street, what business establishment, to the gas office, the airlines agency, the dentist? But suppose that someone makes the same statement, and my responsive question is phrased "Where?" with a rising intonation. This signals, "I didn't hear you; please repeat," and "Downtown" would be the acceptable reply. Thus the difference between falling and rising intonation is the difference between a request for more specific information and a request for repetition.

This is a part of grammar. It is an important part of the structure of English because it is not merely with this one word that such a circumstance can occur. It could take place quite as readily with *when, why, how,* or *what;* it is part and parcel of the system of English. Moreover, it reduces to sheer nonsense the superstition that all English questions end with an upturn of the voice. Recent studies of the structure of English and of dozens of other languages as well have shown how important the elements of intonation, stress, and pause are to the grammar of a language. We have come to realize that they are fundamental to it. Not only must they be taken into account in any really competent analysis of the language, but they play an equally important role in the teaching process.

We may consider the role of the spoken language from other points of view as well. You and I learned to speak long before we learned to write. As a matter of fact, so did all that portion of the human race which engages in writing. Mankind has been speaking for possibly fifty thousand or a hundred thousand years. Writing is not more than six thousand years old, at the most. Even in this literate age, each one of us speaks far more than he writes. It has been estimated that the average person speaks probably what amounts to a rather small novel every week. Obviously, he does not write that much. And finally, there are many, many languages which are spoken but which have not been reduced to writing. There are no written languages that are not spoken or have not been spoken at some time. All these factors enter into this concept of the primary nature of the spoken language.

I do not mean to suggest, in any sense, that the written form of the language is unimportant or unworthy of study. After all, the greatest monuments of our culture appear in written form. One must realize, however, that because our writing systems have not yet developed a mechanism for indicating the second or suprasegmental dimension of language, they are committed to a purely linear presentation. For this reason, the very necessity of a greater regard for logic, for tightness of structure in writing becomes understandable. What we do in writing is unquestionably capable and worthy of analysis, but if we are to remain scientifically sound, we can do this only in terms of an initial understanding of the structure of the spoken language. The spoken form, moreover, undoubtedly offers the most reasonable avenue of entrance into the language, and it is after one has gained some initial mastery of the spoken form that he is best equipped to deal with writing. This, incidentally, is the way in which you learned our own language.

In dealing with many languages over the past years, we have also come to realize that the traditional method of grammatical analysis, the kind of grammar that still forms the basis for many foreign-language textbooks, the kind that has been more or less traditional since about 1700, is not always the best instrument for describing the structure of the languages we may be engaged in teaching. There are historical reasons for this.

The grammar of the western world was developed originally for the purpose of describing the Greek language. It did so quite effectively. It was somewhat less effective but nevertheless serviceable in describing Latin. Both of these classical languages were primarily inflectional. They signaled changes and modifications of meaning almost entirely by changes in the inflections that were added to words. Most of the languages with which language teachers are concerned signal modifications in meaning partly by means of word order and often through the use of what we call function words. For these reasons, the traditionally based grammar is an awkward device for describing the Western European languages.

If I may take English as an example here, it is obvious that there is little point in employing a case terminology in which there are no divergent noun forms to match the terms. Let us rather recognize *for, but, of, at, in, on, to,* as a particular group of function words which are followed by a substantive construction of some kind or other. Are we doing justice to a description of English verb structures, or French, Spanish, or German for that matter, when we try to fit them into a terminology which is half tense and half aspect? Can we not devise a series of mutually exclusive part-of-speech classifications which would avoid such blatant confessions of overlapping categories as pronominal adjective, conjunctive adverb, or conjunctive pronoun?

This is half of what is wrong with much of our conventional grammar—what it seeks to describe or classify and does badly. The other half is what it doesn't describe at all. Here again I must have recourse to English for a series of illustrative examples, but I am morally certain that any competent speaker of a foreign language could find equally telling examples in French, Spanish, or German. But where in English grammar, for example, can we find a cogent account of the situations that call for the future with *going to* rather than with *shall* or *will?* Or the situations that will permit *going to* as an alternate form? How often do we see a frank recognition that *he used to play the piano,* is really the past form of *he plays the piano,* whereas *he played the piano* and *he was playing* are alternate past forms of *he is playing?* How frequently do we come upon a description of the ordering of modifying elements before a substantive sufficiently accurate to predict the sequence *all the ten fine old gray stone houses,* which is the situation in current English rather than, say, *all the fine gray ten stone old houses.* One might make the same observation concerning the relative position of adverbs of time, place, and manner following a verb. And finally, who has included within a description of English verb structures such combinations as *keep saying* and *get moving,* which are quite as aspectual as *must say* or *should go* are modal. And let me repeat, English is by no means unique in this respect.

My desire here is neither to confuse nor to overwhelm with complexity but merely to suggest that no single grammarian has settled the business of *Hoti* or properly based *Oun* for any of the Western European languages, nor would the funeral of such a one permit the cessation of further examination into the structures of these languages. There is still much to be done, and what we are looking for at present is as perceptive and as sound a description of these languages as possible, based upon formal criteria (and within the term "formal" I include statements of distribution, of word order, of the behavior of stress, pitch, and juncture) and then a working backward from these to the meanings which they convey.

Another useful service linguistics has performed is in helping us to recognize that the vocabularies of two languages are by no means subject to a series of one-for-one equivalences. We had known this to a degree before, but we often explained away what seemed to be aberrant or irregular lexical items on the ground that they were deceptive cognates, or we resorted to that convenient but meaningless catch-all, *idiom.* The linguist, by emphasizing that language is essentially a verbal response to a contextual or verbal stimulus, tends to approach the lexicon in terms of contextual situations rather than as a series of code-book equivalents, so frequently characteristic of bad textbooks or cheap bilingual dictionaries. There is, after all, no way other than situational context to approach the distribution of *make* and *do* in *do dishes, make beds, do a lesson, make ten thousand a year.*

Finally, in his very reluctance to make value judgments the linguist has performed a considerable service to the language-teaching profession. It appears to be a natural tendency among language teachers to feel that the particular form of patterned verbal behavior with which they are concerned, and in the imparting of which they spend most of their working hours, is somehow superior, at least in a good many details, to other languages, and particularly to the native tongue which it is the ill fortune of their students to speak. The Latinist prides himself upon the precision and the intricacies of the inflected subjunctive. The French teacher has a profound faith in the essential logic of that language—whatever that may mean. The Italian instructor sings the praises of the sound system, its liquidity and fluidity.

Even an elementary acquaintance with linguistics makes us aware that all natural languages, standard and otherwise, have structural ambiguities, all have redundancies. We cannot say with certainty that a language or any form of it is incapable of communicating any particular lexical concept of grammatical relationship. For centuries, English had no passive infinitive, no future participle, and indeed, at one time, no special form of the future tense. As far as I am able to judge, it got along famously without them, even in communicating ideas of considerable complexity. Now we have a periphrastic construction that does for a passive infinitive, more future time forms than we normally recognize in our conventional grammatical analyses, and we are still without a future participle. And I honestly doubt whether anyone is capable of assessing the net gain or loss in these various instances. Similar observations could be made about any of the languages with which we normally come into contact.

I shall not be rash enough to suggest that these ideas about language and language learning have all necessarily developed within the last 30 or 40 years. Some of them are by no means new. But they are ideas which the intellectual activities of linguistic scientists during the last 30 or 40 years have tended to emphasize. The problem is, how to apply them to the specific language-teaching situations that we all face. Certainly we in the United States are by no means unique in our feeling that somehow our students do not yet acquire a sufficient ability to speak the foreign languages we try to teach them and to understand them when they are spoken. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this situation could be remedied in good part by applying more specifically the concepts of the linguistic scientists to the language-teaching situation. At worst, we have little to lose by trying.

How does one do this? What must be done? First of all, in teaching language just as in teaching anything else, we must decide very specifically just what we want our students of language to be able to do at the end of their first year of instruction, at the end of the second, at the end of four years of college, if we are lucky enough to keep them that long. The goals that we set for ourselves must be cumulative. They must be sequential. They must represent a careful inventory and a careful arrangement of both structural and lexical items, carefully coordinated at the outset with the phonology. Here we can undoubtedly learn a great deal from the techniques of programed instruction in other fields.

Moreover, it is of utmost importance that we determine our goals in terms of specific abilities or performance. It is not enough to say that a person has had two years of language or four years, or has had this course or that course. The all-important question is, "What can he do with the language?" Can he express the ordinary courtesies in the language he is learning? Can he be understood by native speakers of the language when he is speaking on a relatively simple topic? Is he able to speak on whatever subject he himself is particularly interested in? Can he handle elementary constructions accurately? Can he express ideas of at least a degree of complexity satisfactorily?

What can he read? Particularly, what can he read without mentally translating? Is he able to read narrative prose, the kind that one would find in a newspaper article? Can he read expository prose to the extent that he can follow an argument or a logical presentation? Can he read narrative and dramatic material? In short, what can he do, and how rapidly can he do it? With what degree of comprehension? What can he write? Can he understand what is being said in a radio news broadcast? Let us ask questions such as these, in terms of specific performances, and let us plan our courses accordingly, deciding that at the end of two years the student should be able to do thus and so, and at the end of four, so much more. This would seem to be the reasonable way to go about it.

A second task that faces the language teacher is that of making detailed comparisons between English and the language he is teaching, in order that he may identify the areas and points of difficulty in learning the language in question and determine what there is in English to build on. Again, if I may revert to the problems I have to face in teaching English as a foreign language, the problems that a native speaker of Japanese has in learning English are not at all those which confront a native speaker of Spanish. They are, in fact, totally different. The native speaker of Spanish will have no trouble with the concept and use of singular and plural, or with getting nouns to agree with verbs. These features are present in Spanish, but in Japanese plurality is not indicated by inflectional suffixes on nouns and verbs.

The native speaker of Spanish may have just as much trouble with the definite article as the Japanese, not because his language is without anything corresponding to the article but because his language has its own system of the article. Both the Spaniard and the Japanese will have problems with certain sounds, but they will not be the same problems even with the same sounds. The native speaker of Spanish will not tend to confuse [l] and [r] as the Japanese does, but he will not be able to pronounce initial [sp], [st], and [sk] without inserting a vowel before them. Why? Because of the difference between the phonological structure of his language and that of the language he is trying to learn. For the speakers of every language there is a peculiar set of difficulties in learning another language, and these can be identified only by comparing the structures of the two languages. Contrastive analysis is the name that we now give to a systematic structural comparison of two languages.

Let us turn next to the order in which the four language activities are to be taught. By applying the concept of the primacy of the spoken language, we are led to conclude that listening and speaking must receive our initial attention. Only after considerable progress has been made in these do we turn our attention to reading and writing. Everything that we know about language and language learning points to this particular order. The titles of a recent series of language textbooks are particularly instructive on this point. Although they are designed for three different languages, the titles of all of them when translated into English run as follows: *Hearing and Speaking* is the initial volume; the second is *Speaking and Reading;* the third, *Reading and Writing.*[1]

We must also remember that we are never finished with the oral approach. Once we begin reading, we do not stop speaking—inside the classroom or out of it. One cannot complete an oral approach in the first year of the first two years of language instruction and then calmly forget about it. We didn't when we learned our own language. We kept on listening and speaking and simply added to them the skills of reading and writing. It is reasonable to apply this same progression to foreign-language learning.

Next, proceeding from the concept of the patterned structure of language and also from our awareness that these patterns are learned through constant repetition, we employ repetitive drill as a device for teaching them. This is called pattern practice. It is so designed that the responses ultimately become quite automatic. Again using English as an illustration, if someone greets you with the expression, "Good morning. How áre you?" the normal response is, "How are yóu?" The same three words are used, but with a different stress and intonation pattern. If English is properly taught, whenever the verbal stimulus is given, the student's response should be instantaneous. He should not have to think of it, to search the dim recesses of his memory to drag it out. Readiness and correctness of response can come about only as a result of repetitive drill, through carefully controlled situations.

There is also a tendency at present to introduce fewer vocabulary items than was the custom in the past. Textbooks written some 20 and 30 years ago presented students with a formidable word list in every lesson, which demanded a tremendous amount of rote memorization. It is important to remember that we learn our native language first by mastering patterns and, as children, operating these patterns with a very small vocabulary, because our needs are small at this period in our lives. As the needs grow, our vocabulary expands. But it is possible to operate the patterns of the language with a quite small lexicon.

Similarly, in acquiring a foreign language, if one learns the patterns first and gets them thoroughly and firmly fixed in the memory, so that the responses when they are called for will be habitual, there is plenty of time for vocabulary expansion later on. The best way to teach the vocabulary so that your students will really know it is to make certain that they do not have a chance to forget it. If 10 words are introduced in the first chapter of a textbook, all 10 ought to be reintroduced somewhere in the next three chapters. And the same thing is true for the 10 used for the first time in the second chapter. This is what careful textbook planning means. It is, I am certain, the only way we can assure ourselves that even a small vocabulary is going to be really mastered, and by "really mastered," I mean acquiring it to the extent that it will emerge automatically rather than be something that the student must search for.

Much of what I have been discussing has been concerned with classroom materials rather than classroom procedure. What about the enlightened teacher who is so unfortunate, for one reason or another, as to have to use an antediluvian text? The answer is reasonably clear, I believe. Some of the difficulties posed by an outmoded textbook are difficult to overcome; others are much less so. Passages intended for reading can be converted into oral drill. Unsatisfactory grammatical explanations can be supplemented by more enlightened ones. The recognition of the difficulties in learning a particular language, highlighted by an informed comparison of that language with English, will be helpful in any event. Additional pattern drills can always be devised. Clearly, a good textbook is better than a bad one, but even the best and most enlightened text is seldom so well devised that it cannot be misused.

We have been discussing the impact of linguistics upon language teaching; nevertheless, one caution is necessary. Although what the linguistically sophisticated teacher knows about the structure and functioning of language has, or should have, a direct bearing upon classroom procedure, it does not follow at all that the substantive content of linguistics must necessarily be taught in organized form to the language student. This is a mistake that is sometimes made by the newly converted and overzealous. It is also a misconception that people sometimes have about linguistically oriented language teaching.

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[1] The series is published in New York by Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., and the initial volumes are as follows:
Gregory G. LaGrone, Andrea Sendón McHenry, and Patricia O'Connor, *Español: Entender y Hablar* (1961).
Helmut Rehder, Ursula Thomas, and Freeman Twaddell, *Deutsch: Verstehen und Sprechen* (1962).
Dominique G. Côté, Sylvia Narins Levy, and Patricia O'Connor, *Le Français: Ecouter et Parler* (1962).

I have seen language classes ruined by being turned into courses in elementary phonetics, and language students thrown into a hopeless state of confusion by being confronted with some of the new and unfamiliar terminology of linguistic science. This does no one any good. The teacher needs to use his knowledge of phonetics in such a way as to get the student to produce sounds which are not in his own language, to split what amounts to one significant sound in his native language into two variants which contrast in the target language, to pronounce familiar sound combinations in unfamiliar situations. What helps him to achieve these goals is not a set of terms or a cross section of the vocal apparatus but carefully devised drills which proceed gradually, step by step, from the sounds or combinations he is accustomed to produce to the desired goals. Linguistics is a tool for the teacher, not a subject to be taught. Learning about language is one thing; acquiring competence in a particular language is quite another.

Thus far attention has been given entirely to the place of linguistics in language teaching. It is reasonable to ask whether it has a place in language learning. Obviously each of us has acquired competence in his native language without recourse to linguistics, in view of the fact that the basic language patterns were mastered prior to the beginning of formal schooling. Many linguists do believe, however, that on a more mature level, an improved understanding of the structure and operation of a language will inevitably lead to a more dextrous and effective employment of it. Honesty compels the admission that this still remains to be proved, but it may be that some reliable information on this point will be forthcoming in the not too distant future.

The very duality of the preceding paragraph tends to suggest a distinction between language learning at the elementary level and in high school or college. Certainly the acquisition of a second language by the preadolescent, in situations outside the classroom as well as within, bears considerable resemblance to native-language learning. There is unquestionably a place for linguistics in the construction of language-learning materials for the elementary pupil. I am inclined to believe that they would be much improved if there were more research on how the child acquired his first language. What we need in particular is a reinterpretation, in the light of present-day linguistics concepts, of such careful studies as Piaget's *The Language and Thought of the Child,* Grégoire's *L'Apprentissage du Langage,* and *Die Kindersprache* by the Sterns.[2] Some work has been done along these lines, principally by Jean Berko and the Kahanes, but it is only a beginning.[3]

Second-language learning in the adolescent and the adult poses quite different problems in that there is much more in the way of deeply grooved behavior patterns which causes interference, a heightened set of inhibitions to be overcome, and the obvious circumstance that the new language is not going to be learned wholly unconsciously or out-of-awareness. Here one could make a case, I believe, for some sound knowledge about linguistic structure and some enlightened attitudes toward language. These should probably be imparted initially with reference to English and in connection with the study of English rather than the foreign language.

By this I do not mean that it is the responsibility of the high school English department to teach the child all the apparatus and terminology of Latin grammar, or of French or Spanish for that matter. But an awareness of the devices employed by English to convey certain types of grammatical meanings, indeed an awareness of the distinction between lexical and grammatical meaning, some experience in the convertibility or transformation of grammatical constructions, and in the expansion of basic or minimal structural patterns will go a long way toward producing a linguistic sophistication which is likely to be helpful in second-language learning.

I have tried to suggest certain lessons that may be learned from the advances that linguistic scientists have made over the past 30 years. From the very nature of these advances and the ideas about language that are implicit in them, we can understand why certain changes in language teaching have taken place. Essentially, they constitute an application to the language classroom of the concepts of the so-called pure science.

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[2] Jean Piaget, *The Language and Thought of the Child* (New York: Meridian Books, Inc. 1955.

Antoine Grégoire, *L'Apprentissage du Langage* (Liége, J. Duculot, 1947).

Clara and William Stern, *Die Kindersprache* (Leipzig, 1928).

[3] Jean Berko, "The Child's Learning of English Morphology," *Word,* August-December, 1958, pp. 150-177.

Henry and Renée Kahane and Sol Saporta, "Development of Verbal Categories in Child Language," *International Journal of American Linguistics,* October 1958, 65 pp.

Upon occasion when I have spoken in terms like this to teachers of foreign languages, I have been told, "I don't see much of anything new in all that you are talking about. Good teachers have been doing this for years." When I encounter this comment, I invariably agree with it. But that is not the whole story.

Heretofore, a teacher of language has been effective largely because he is intuitive and instinctively does the right thing, or because he has had a long experience and, through trial and error, has learned many of the ideas and procedures I have just mentioned. I quite agree that there is little that is wholly new in my comments on language teaching. Jespersen said much of it in 1904, and Palmer said it again in Japan 25 years later.[4] But after all, intuition is confined to the gifted, and there are very few gifted. Experience takes a long time to acquire. If one can arrive at these changed practices through careful analysis and orderly thinking, then we do have a systematic approach to teaching problems that can be attained otherwise only by a relative few.

I certainly do not say that there is only one way to teach a language. I do say, however, that it is in the development of system and order, in the encouragement of rigorous analysis of language and careful study of the language-learning process that linguistic science can make its contribution to the wider understanding among nations that the world situation so urgently demands.

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[4] Otto Jespersen, *How to Teach a Foreign Language* (London: Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1947). Originally published in 1904.
Harold E. Palmer, *The Teaching of Oral English* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1940).

Psychological Approaches to Second-Language Learning and Bilingualism

by Wallace E. Lambert

As an experimental psychologist interested in language learning, I often feel like a stranger in the company of those who teach languages. Why should that be? Our interests should overlap in large part, and where they differ we should be prompted to exchange ideas about the differences. But too often we don't communicate. I get the impression that language teachers feel that psychologists are too scientific and mechanical in their approach to language, and that psychological notions about learning are not really applicable in the case of language learning. This reaction stems primarily from a lack of information about the psychology of language. Those who know about contemporary psychology only through new developments in teaching machines and programed instruction have a very limited sample. These are only two of many new trends in the psychological study of language, and because they are purely practical they may turn out to be the least valuable in the long run.

I have recently reviewed and compared a number of psychological programs of research on language.[1] One must be acquainted with these many different approaches to realize that most of them are neither overly mechanistic nor insensitive to the complexity and beauty of language. This fact is particularly evident in the work of many psychologists who have recently become interested in meaning. Osgood,[2] Bousfield,[3] Deese,[4] Mowrer,[5] and Brown[6] have examined meaning from various points of view and have conducted intriguing experiments on the matter, but in no case have they lost sight of the richness or the complex nature of language. Others, such as Hebb,[7] have stimulated interest in the neuropsychological bases of thought and language. This movement promises to increase not only our understanding of language but also our fascination with it. Another approach to the study of language comes from the interest of men like Carroll[8] in the nature of abilities and aptitudes needed for learning foreign languages.

Teachers of languages should be as interested as psychologists in the problems of meaning, the neural bases of thought and language, and the nature of language-learning abilities. These matters are obviously relevant to language-learning and language-teaching processes. Why, then, are language teachers not better represented among those who conduct careful research on language and language learning? It is my hunch that many language teachers fail to express a real interest in such matters because of ever increasing demands made on them to teach large and numerous classes of students. As a consequence, many consider themselves professional teachers rather than language specialists; they think of themselves as human teachers in competition with the new mechanical teachers. It seems to me that too many have lost the enjoyment and fascination in language study that must have motivated them to specialize in their discipline in the first place. If this hunch is correct, the routine of teaching and the associated lack of enjoyment must show through in the teaching and must be apparent to students of languages.

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[1] W. E. Lambert, "Psychological Approaches to the Study of Language," *Modern Language Journal;* Part I, February 1963, pp. 51-62; Part II, March 1963, pp. 114-121.

[2] C. E. Osgood, G. J. Suci, and P. H. Tannenbaum, *The Measurement of Meaning* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1957).

[3] W. A. Bousfield, "The Occurrence of Clustering in the Recall of Randomly Arranged Associates," *Journal of General Psychology,* October 1953, pp. 229-240.

[4] J. Deese, "On the Structure of Associative Meaning," *Psychological Review,* May 1962, pp. 161-175.

[5] O. H. Mowrer, *Learning Theory and the Symbolic Processes* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960). Chaps. 3 and 4.

[6] R. Brown, *Words and Things* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958).

[7] D. O. Hebb, *A Textbook of Psychology* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1958).

[8] J. B. Carroll, "The Prediction of Success in Intensive Foreign Language Training" (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1960). Mimeographed.

Lack of interest in these basic aspects of language is revealed in overemphasis on the practical. Too often, language teachers grasp at and apply any idea that has the faintest promise of being of practical value in teaching languages. Teachers were "not hard enough with themselves," as Robert Frost put it, with the idea of audio-lingualism. The whole profession adopted this idea, it seems, although we still have little objective evidence with which to evaluate it. The profession also jumped perhaps too eagerly on the idea of programed machine teaching because this notion had a clear practical potential. How can one inculcate an interest in and a feeling for a foreign language when drill patterns are so overused that they become monotonous, or when students are asked to spend too much time behind earphones in laboratories, or to work their way very slowly through a routinized program of instruction? It seems to me that the value of such developments is great but that it has limits.

Those in the language-teaching profession should have a larger voice in evaluating these new developments. Until a larger proportion of language teachers train themselves to join in research programs concerned with language, new developments and techniques may only rarely fit their special needs or answer their special problems. If more language teachers got involved in basic research on language, I am certain that their dormant fascination with language would be regenerated and would be passed on to their students. Why shouldn't more language teachers be asking for fellowships to spend time with J. B. Carroll at the Harvard University Graduate School of Education, C. E. Osgood at the University of Illinois, Paul Pimsleur at Ohio State University, Susan Ervin at the University of California at Berkeley, or with our group at McGill University?

My point here is that language teachers, confronted with unusually large classes and increased demands on their time, have become too practical in their profession and have dulled their basic fascination with language. They have too readily adopted new ideas and gadgets without developing abilities to evaluate these new ideas. I believe that their efficiency as teachers is adversely affected by this tendency, and that this adverse trend can be checked by developing in them a stronger interest in the psychological and educational research on language currently under way in many American universities.

Two of the approaches outlined in my article in the *Modern Language Journal* are concerned with second-language learning and bilingualism as viewed from the perspective of experimental psychology. Since these matters are of potential interest to language teachers and to those who will determine the course of future curricular changes, Part II of the article referred to above is reprinted here, beginning at "A Social Psychology of Second-Language Learning" on page 25 and ending on page 31.[9]

Psychologists view language as a form of human behavior, actually as the most complex yet systematic of all forms of behavior. This view of language is generally shared by linguists and social anthropologists. But most language teachers stress other aspects of language—a series of skills to be acquired, or a collection of the creative efforts of men of letters. Language has many facets, and perhaps language teachers can benefit from the discussion of the behavioral view of language presented below. It is my belief that the next generation of language teachers should have a many-faceted view of language, developed through an integrated program of study including language and literature as well as descriptive linguistics, psychology, social anthropology, and methods of experimentation. The new graduate program in language training at the University of Washington is based on such an orientation toward language.[10]

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[9] W. E. Lambert, *op. cit.*

[10] "Seminar in Language and Language Learning: Final Report" (Seattle: University of Washington, Department of Romance Languages and Literature, 1962). Mimeographed.

It provides both students and teachers of language with a broad training in language skill as well as in the behavioral and social sciences.

A Social Psychology of Second-Language Learning

When viewed from a social-psychological perspective, the process of learning a second language takes on a special significance. From this viewpoint, one anticipates that if the learner is appropriately oriented, he may find that by learning another social group's language he has made the crucial step in becoming an acculturated part of a second linguistic-cultural community. Advancing toward biculturality in this sense may be viewed as a broadening experience in some cases, or it can engender "anomie," a feeling of not comfortably belonging in one social group or the other. With a different orientation, a language learner may look on his learning task as making him better educated or more cultured, or as equipping him with a useful skill for his future occupation, with little regard for the culture or the people represented by the other language. In other circumstances, one might consider learning another group's language as a means of getting on the inside of a cultural community in order to exploit, manipulate, or control, with clearly personal ends in mind.

A series of studies carried out at McGill University has been concerned with such topics, and various findings have increased our confidence in a social-psychological theory of language learning. This theory, in brief, holds that an individual successfully acquiring a second language gradually adopts various aspects of behavior which characterize members of another linguistic-cultural group. The learner's ethnocentric tendencies and his attitudes toward the other group are believed to determine his success in learning the new language. His motivation to learn is thought to be determined by his attitudes and by his orientation toward learning a second language. The orientation is "instrumental" in form if the purposes of language study reflect the more utilitarian value of linguistic achievement, such as getting ahead in one's occupation, and is "integrative" if the student is oriented to learn more about the other cultural community as if he desired to become a potential member of the other group.

Some may be anxious to learn another language as a means of being accepted in another cultural group because of dissatisfactions experienced in their own culture, while other individuals may be as interested in another culture as they are in their own. However, the more proficient one becomes in a second language the more he may find that his place in his original membership group is modified at the same time as the other linguistic-cultural group becomes something more than a reference group for him. It may, in fact, become a second membership group for him. Depending upon the compatibility of the two cultures, he may experience feelings of chagrin or regret as he loses ties in one group, mixed with the fearful anticipation of entering a relatively new group. The concept of "anomie," first proposed by Durkheim[11] and more recently extended by Srole[12] and Williams,[13] refers to the feelings of social uncertainty or dissatisfaction which sometimes characterize not only the bilingual but also the serious student of a second language.

We are viewing the learning of a second language in much the same way as Mowrer interprets the child's learning of his first language. Mowrer's fascinating "autistic" theory[14] differs in an essential way from B. F. Skinner's approach to the matter. For Mowrer, word learning in talking birds and children takes place when the sounds of words have come to carry a reinforcement power in themselves, so that the learner wants to produce words. The sounds become reinforcing agents through association with the users of words who are held in affection by the learner. Language learning is motivated by a basic desire to be like valued people in one's environment, first family members and then others in the linguistic community. The language learner has to identify with language users to the extent that he wants to be like them linguistically, and undoubtedly in many other ways. It is not the case, as Skinner would require it, that the learner must emit words and have them immediately reinforced. All that is necessary, Mowrer makes clear, is that the word be said by the bird trainer or the child's mother and that this sound be followed by a reinforcing state for the learner (in the form of reception of food for the bird or affectionate handling for the child). In similar fashion we argue that the learner must want to identify with members of the other linguistic-cultural group and must be willing to take on very subtle aspects of their behavior such as their language or even their style of speech. We also feel that there are various types of motivation which can underlie his willingness to be like the other group's members, and we are interested in explicating each of these.

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[11] E. Durkheim, *Le Suicide* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1897).

[12] L. Srole, "Social Dysfunction, Personality and Social Distance Attitudes." Paper read before the American Sociological Society, 1951, Chicago, Ill.

[13] R. M. Williams, *American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952).

[14] O. H. Mowrer, *op. cit.*

The first studies were carried out by my colleagues and me with English-speaking Montreal high school students studying French who were examined for language-learning aptitude and verbal intelligence as well as for attitudes toward the French community and intensity of motivation to learn French.[15] Our measure of motivational intensity is conceptually similar to Jones's index of interest in learning a language that he found to be important for successful learning among Welsh students.[16] A factor analysis indicated that aptitude and intelligence formed a factor that was independent of a second factor comprising indices of motivation, type of orientation toward language, and social attitudes toward French-Canadians. A measure of achievement in French was reflected equally prominently in both factors. In this case, then, French achievement was dependent upon both aptitude and intelligence as well as upon a sympathetic orientation toward the other group. This orientation apparently sustained a strong motivation to learn the other group's language. In the Montreal setting, it was clear that students with an integrative orientation were the more successful in language learning in contrast to those instrumentally oriented.

Gardner's 1960 study confirmed and extended these findings. Using a larger sample of English-Canadians and incorporating various measures of French achievement, Gardner found that the same two independent factors were revealed, and again both were related to French achievement. He also found that aptitude and achievement were especially important for those French skills stressed in school training, but that the acquisition of those French skills whose development depends on the active use of the language in communicational settings was determined solely by measures of an integrative motivation to learn French. Further evidence indicated that this integrative motive was the converse of an authoritarian ideological syndrome, and this evidence opened the possibility that basic personality dispositions may be involved in language-learning efficiency.

Information had been gathered from parents about their orientation toward the French community. These data supported the notion that the proper orientation toward the other group is developed within the family; students with an integrative disposition to learn French had parents who also were integrative and sympathetic to the French community. The students' orientations were not related to parents' skill in French, nor to the number of French acquaintances the parents had, indicating that the integrative motive is not due to having more experience with French at home but more likely stems from a family-wide attitudinal disposition.

A study by Anisfeld and Lambert[17] extended the experimental procedure to samples of Jewish high school students studying Hebrew at parochial schools in Montreal. They were administered tests measuring their orientation toward learning Hebrew and their attitudes toward the Jewish culture and community, as well as tests of verbal intelligence and language aptitude. These tests were correlated with measures of achievement in the Hebrew language at the school year's end. The results support the generalization that both intellectual capacity and attitudinal orientation affect success in learning Hebrew. However, whereas intelligence and linguistic aptitude are relatively stable predictors of success, the attitudinal measures vary from one social class school district to another. The measure of a Jewish student's desire to become more acculturated into the Jewish tradition and culture was sensitive for children in a district of Montreal in which sociopsychological analysis of the nature of the Jewish population's adjustment to the American gentile culture suggested that these particular Jews were concerned with problems of integrating into the Jewish culture. In another district, made up of Jews more recently arrived in North America who were clearly of a lower socioeconomic class level, the measure of desire for Jewish acculturation did not correlate with achievement in Hebrew, whereas measures of pro-Semitic attitudes or pride in being Jewish did.

More recently, students undergoing an intensive course in French at McGill University's French Summer

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[15] R. C. Gardner and W. E. Lambert, "Motivation Variables in Second-Language Acquisition," *Canadian Journal of Psychology,* December 1959, pp. 266-272; R.C. Gardner, "Motivational Variables in Second-Language Acquisition," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, McGill University, Redpath Library, 1960.

[16] W. R. Jones, "Attitude Towards Welsh As a Second Language. A Preliminary Investigation," *British Journal of Educational Psychology,* February 1949, pp. 44-52; "Attitude Towards Welsh As a Second Language. A Further Investigation," *British Journal of Educational Psychology,* June 1950, pp. 117-132.

[17] M. Anisfeld and W. E. Lambert, "Social and Psychological Variables in Learning Hebrew," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* November 1961, pp. 524-529.

School were examined for changes in attitude during the study period.[18] Most were American university students or secondary school language teachers who referred themselves more to the European-French than to the American-French community in their orientations to language learning. In this study, it became apparent that feelings of anomie were markedly increased during the course of study. As students progressed to the point that they "thought" in French, it was noted that their feelings of anomie also increased. At the same time, they tried to find means of using English even though they had pledged to use only French for the six-week period. The pattern suggests that American students experience anomie when they concentrate on and commence to master a second language and, as a consequence, develop stratagems to control or minimize such feelings.

The most recent study compares 10-year-old monolingual and bilingual students on measures of intelligence.[19] Of relevance here is the very clear pattern that bilingual children have markedly more favorable attitudes toward the "other" language community, in contrast to the monolingual children. Furthermore, the parents of bilingual children are believed by their children to hold the same strongly sympathetic attitudes, in contrast to the parents of monolingual children—as though the linguistic skills in a second language, extending to the point of bilingualism, are controlled by family-shared attitudes toward the other linguistic-cultural community.

These findings are consistent and reliable enough to be of more general interest. For example, methods of language training may be modified and strengthened by giving consideration to the social-psychological implications of language learning. Important recent work by Pimsleur and his associates lends support to our findings and to the general theory.[20] Because of the possible practical as well as theoretical significance of this approach, it seemed appropriate to test its applicability in a cultural setting other than the bicultural Quebec scene. Our most recent study was therefore conducted in various regional settings in the United States; two of them were also bicultural and a third was more representative of "typical" large American cities.[21] The bicultural settings permitted an examination of attitudes working two ways: attitudinal dispositions of American students toward linguistic minority groups in their immediate environment and the general attitudes of members of the cultural minority group toward the general American culture about them. In this study, we were interested in discovering the relative importance, in the language-learning process, of intellectual ability and language-learning aptitude, on the one hand, and social attitudes toward the "other" language group and motivation to learn the language, on the other hand. Our attention was first directed to an examination of how these variables affect the language learning of American students who come from homes in which only English is spoken. In order to compare the results of the United States investigation with earlier studies carried out with English-speaking students learning French in Montreal, we chose two samples of students from bicultural American communities in Louisiana and Maine. A third sample of American students was drawn from the public school system of Hartford, Connecticut, considered representative of most large city school systems along the eastern coast of the United States. The Connecticut setting did not have a distinctive subcommunity of Franco-Americans in its immediate environment comparable to those in the Louisiana and Maine districts studied. Thus, the Hartford students would not be expected to have a clear linguistic cultural group in their immediate experience toward which favorable or unfavorable attitudes would have developed through direct contact.

A large battery of tests was administered to students in all three areas early in the year. Near the end of the year, tests of achievement in French were given, and grades in French were obtained from teachers. The tests were intercorrelated and factor-analyzed. The resulting patterns of interrelations were studied and interpreted. The results indicate, as did the Montreal studies, that two independent factors underlie the development of skill in learning a second language: an intellectual capacity and an appropriate attitudinal orientation toward the other language group, coupled with a determined motivation to learn the language.

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[18] W. E. Lambert, R. C. Gardner, H. C. Barik, and K. Tunstall, "Attitudinal and Cognitive Aspects of Intensive Study of a Second Language," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* April 1963, pp. 358-368.

[19] Elizabeth Peal and W. E. Lambert, "The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence," American Psychological Association, *Psychological Monographs,* No. 546, 1962.

[20] P. Pimsleur, L. Mosberg, and A. V. Morrison, "Student Factors in Foreign Language Learning: A Review of the Literature," *Modern Language Journal,* April 1962, pp. 160-170.

P. Pimsleur, R. P. Stockwell, and A. L. Comrey, "Foreign Language Learning Ability," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* October 1962, pp. 15-26.

[21] W. E. Lambert, R. C. Gardner, R. Olton, and K. Tunstall, "A Study of the Roles of Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Learning" (Montreal: McGill University, 1962). Mimeographed.

The second phase of the investigation was concerned with the role of aptitudinal, attitudinal, and motivational variables in the linguistic development of potentially bilingual Franco-American students—those coming from homes in which primarily French was spoken. Two samples of Franco-American high school students were chosen from the Louisiana and Maine settings. The analysis indicated the manner in which social attitudes toward their own linguistic group and the American culture around them influence their progress in becoming bilingual and whether they retain the dominance of French or develop dominance of English. The manner in which the Franco-American student faces and resolves the cultural conflict he is likely to encounter in the American society was found to determine his linguistic development in French and English.

The third phase of the study focused on a comparison of Franco-American students from the Louisiana and Maine settings. The results make it very clear that whereas the Louisiana French culture is rapidly merging into the general American culture, the Maine community of Franco-Americans enjoys a comparatively dynamic and distinctive existence.

The fourth phase compared the Franco-American and American students in their various competences in French and in their attitudinal dispositions. The results reinforce the finding mentioned above of the cultural conflicts faced by Franco-American students. Furthermore, the Maine Franco-Americans show a decided superiority over the American students in their French skills, whereas the Louisiana Franco-Americans show little or no advantage in French over the American students.

The fifth phase of the study examined the stereotypes both American and Franco-American groups of students hold toward French people. The analysis indicates that all groups except the Maine Franco-Americans hold unfavorable stereotypes of French people. The Maine Franco-Americans give evidence of a basic pride in their French heritage. But this was the exceptional case, and the consequences of holding negative stereotypes toward the very people whose language one is supposed to learn become apparent in this analysis.

The sixth and final phase deals with the role of students' values in the language-learning process. The results indicate that achievement in foreign language training is not a central goal for American students. Rather, it is apparently incidental to the more challenging goal of trying to find and prepare one's way for the future. A student's intelligence, coupled with the value he places on achievement, is a major determiner of his success in most school work, including the study of language.

These findings not only supply needed information about the student learning languages, but also point the way to a large number of next steps to be taken in the fascinating study of the learning of language and bilingualism.

A Psychology of Bilingualism

Psychologists are now becoming interested in studying how one acquires a second language and how certain individuals are able to make efficient use of two or several languages. A group of us at McGill University have found the Montreal bicultural setting to be an outstanding field station for research on bilingualism. But we have also noted that the linguistic backgrounds of actual bilinguals are often too complex for experimental studies. As a consequence, we have been forced often to restate certain bilingual problems in a more general form so that they can be investigated with experimental methods that only approximate the real bilingual case.

Our first step was to develop means of measuring individual variations in bilingual skill.[22] This work assumed that linguistic habits should be revealed in tests calling for speed of response, a commonly accepted measure of habit strength. It was hypothesized that students with different amounts of study experience in a second language should show a corresponding facility in responding with the second language when required to. It was found that students at three progressively more advanced stages of experience with French showed progressively greater speed of responding to directions given them in French. This measure of speed of response correlated highly with the students' active vocabulary in French.

In a second study a large number of tests were administered to students at various levels of skill in a second language, ranging from undergraduate experience to native-like competence.[23] The pattern of results on these tests suggested that one's degree of bilingualism is reflected in his ability to perceive and to make efficient use of the words in either language. These studies made it evident that an adequate conceptualization of bilingualism should account for individual differences. That is, one person can show equal facility in his two languages and yet be a comparatively limited person in both languages. Another person can be intellectually brilliant in both his languages and equally skilled in both. Thus, we introduced the concepts of "bilingual balance," for persons who show essentially similar skills in both languages, and "linguistic dominance," for persons who have a measurably greater facility in one of the two languages. Questions then arise as to how bilingual balance is best nurtured and what the psychological concomitants of balance are. Also, it has been intriguing to search out the motives and learning settings that promote dominance, especially cases in which the acquired language becomes dominant over the first-learned language.

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[22] W. E. Lambert, "Measurement of the Linguistic Dominance of Bilinguals," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, March 1955, pp. 197-200.

[23] W. E. Lambert, J. Havelka, and R. C. Gardner, "Linguistic Manifestations of Bilingualism," *American Journal of Psychology*, March 1959, pp. 77-82.

The next step was to study the route that leads to bilingualism.[24] Students at various levels of experience with a second language were given a series of tests differing in the complexity of their content. The results indicated that students have to surmount progressively more difficult levels of skill in order to approach native-like performance in their second language. The easiest level to master involved the acquisition of vocabulary and grammatical skills. Then the student must become experienced to the extent that he can react automatically in the second language. Then he faces the problem of surmounting a cultural barrier, so that he can think in terms of culturally appropriate concepts—for example, those revealed in the type and form of free associations given in the second language. At this stage, too, he must acquire a native-like accent in his second language. We have become interested in how the perfect accent is learned, and we use a theory of "identification" with members of the other linguistic group to explain this process.

It is of psychological interest to understand how bilinguals can learn two symbols for each referent and yet manage to use each language system with a minimum of interlingual interferences. Consideration of this problem led us to examine the implications of a theory of "coordinate" and "compound" bilingualism, proposed by linguists,[25] and recently examined by psychologists.[26] This theory states that bilinguals who have learned their two languages within one context will develop a "compound" bilingual system wherein the symbols of both languages function as interchangeable alternatives with essentially the same meanings. A "coordinate" system would be developed when the language-acquisition contexts were culturally, temporally, or functionally segregated. This form of learning would promote bilinguals whose two sets of symbols would be functionally more distinct and independent. We have tested these notions and found that the learning contexts are apparently critical in determining the form of bilingualism which ultimately develops. Behavioral differences are measurable in terms of interlingual independence and degrees of similarity between meanings.[27] Coordinate bilinguals in contrast to compound bilinguals apparently can keep their two languages more functionally separated. They may be aided in this respect by the fact that they have distinctive connotative meanings for translated equivalents in their two languages. Furthermore, when the meaning of a symbol in one language is reduced through overuse, the other-language equivalent is not co-reduced, as is the case for compound bilinguals.[28] We have also examined the implications of coordinate and compound systems among bilinguals who become aphasic.[29] Bilingual aphasics who learned their languages in a coordinate fashion are more likely to lose the use of only one of their two languages if they become aphasic, whereas compound bilinguals show a more general language deficit affecting their two languages when they become aphasic.

This line of research suggests that interlingual interference is reduced for coordinate bilinguals by the intrinsic distinctiveness of their two languages, while compound bilinguals may have to rely more on cues emanating from the language-usage contexts in order to minimize the potential interference. That is, compound bilinguals may be more prone to switch from one language to another if the context in which communication takes place prompts them to switch. For example, another communicator's use of a word or phrase from language X might prompt the compound bilingual to switch to language X; or the physical features of one member of a group might suggest that this person belongs to a particular linguistic group and might be sufficient cue for a compound bilingual to use a particular language. If the context provides various conflicting cues, the compound bilingual would be more likely to encounter interlingual confusions. The point here is that the coordinate bilingual would be less dependent on the cues stemming from the language-usage context because of the built-in distinctiveness of his two language systems. Future research will examine the validity of such notions as these.

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[24] W. E. Lambert, "Developmental Aspects of Second-Language Acquisition" (Parts I, II, III), *Journal of Social Psychology*, February 1956, pp. 83-104.

[25] U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (New York: Linguistic Circle of New York, 1953).

[26] Susan Ervin and C. E. Osgood, "Second Language Learning and Bilingualism," in C. E. Osgood and F. Sebeok (eds.), "Psycholinguistics," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, October 1954 Supplement, pp. 139-146.

[27] W. E. Lambert, J. Havelka, and Cynthia Crosby, "The Influence of Language-Acquisition Contexts on Bilingualism," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, March 1958, pp. 239-244.

W. E. Lambert, "Behavioral Evidence for Contrasting Forms of Bilingualism," Georgetown Round Table Conference, 1961, to appear in volume on proceedings in 1963.

[28] L. A. Jakobovits and W. E. Lambert, "Semantic Satiation Among Bilinguals," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, December 1961, pp. 576-582.

[29] W. E. Lambert and S. Fillenbaum, "A Pilot Study of Aphasia Among Bilinguals," *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, March 1959, pp. 28-34.

Methods of teaching a second language take into account this matter of interlingual interference. For example, the direct methods require students to relate a symbol directly with an environmental event rather than indirectly through the association of the equivalent symbol of the first language. The direct method, therefore, is analogous to coordinate training, as the indirect method is to compound training. It was at this point that we felt it wise to use closely controlled experimental methods to study the comparative merits of direct and indirect methods of training.[30] For this purpose, we followed the tradition of experimental research on verbal learning, as covered in such work as McGeoch[31] and Underwood and Schulz.[32] Actually, the problem of direct and indirect methods is an old one and was examined many times in the early 1900's by psychologists and educators. We improved on their procedures, we believed, and found that the direct method was relatively more efficient, at least for vocabulary learning, primarily because the task of associating new language words with referents afforded greater distinctiveness of elements to be learned than did the task of associating new language words with their equivalents in the first language. However, in a recent investigation of advanced students of a second language studying the language for a concentrated six-week period in a setting that was as "direct" as one could hope for, it was found that those students who kept their two languages functionally separated throughout the course did not do their course work as well as did those who permitted the semantic features of their two languages to interact.[33] Thus this study indicates that students studying under a direct method utilize the semantic features of both their languages and permit the two to interact, and that this tendency toward linguistic interdependency apparently assists students in acquiring their second language. This finding may well prompt further research on the question of direct methods of training.

At the moment we are examining the merits of learning two languages concurrently from an early age, in contrast to learning one language well before the second is attempted—that is, learning two languages consecutively.[34] This problem is often faced by educators and parents who fear that confusion will accompany the early introduction of a second language before competence is developed in the first. Lack of information on this point makes most parents cautious, and children are often kept away from a second language until it may be too late to learn it well. Our approach in this study is to approximate the real-life situation, using artificial languages and restricting ourselves to the vocabulary acquisition phase of the process. The study will be completed during the year.

Finally, we have examined the question of the intellectual deficit which is supposed to plague bilinguals. Many studies in the educational and psychological literature have concluded that bilingual children show a lower average score on tests of intelligence when compared with monolingual children who are supposedly matched on all pertinent characteristics except bilingual experience. The findings are not convincing when one surveys the total range of studies undertaken. Elizabeth Peal and I carried out an extensive study on this question last year with 10-year-olds in Montreal.[35] We attempted to match very carefully the students who finally were categorized as bilingual or monolingual. For example, we painstakingly checked on the socioeconomic background of the two groups of students and made sure the bilinguals were really competent in both languages. Our results clearly show that the bilingual students are far superior to monolinguals on both verbal and nonverbal tests of intelligence. We concluded that the bilinguals may have an advantage in tests requiring "cognitive flexibility"—perhaps because they are bilingual. Miss Peal is presently examining this possibility more carefully. Because our results are in conflict with so many others on this point (although we have no doubt at all about the differences in intelligence just mentioned) we are not yet sure whether this bilingual advantage is peculiar to bilinguals in Canada or whether it is true of "good" bilinguals anywhere.

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[30] Cynthia Wimer and W. E. Lambert, "The Differential Effects of Word and Object Stimuli on the Learning of Paired Associates," *Journal of Experimental Psychology,* January 1959, pp. 31-36.

[31] J. A. McGeoch, *The Psychology of Human Learning* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1942).

[32] B. J. Underwood and R. W. Schulz, *Meaningfulness and Verbal Learning* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1960).

[33] W. E. Lambert, R. C. Gardner, H. C. Barik, and K. Tunstall, "Attitudinal and Cognitive Aspects of Intensive Study of a Second Language," *op. cit.*

[34] W. E. Lambert and Grace Yeni-Komshian, "Concurrent and Consecutive Modes of Learning Two Languages," to be published in *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior.*

[35] Elizabeth Peal and W.E. Lambert, *op. cit.*

McGill is but one of the centers studying bilingualism. The extremely important work of Susan Ervin at Berkeley would be of particular value to language teachers.[36] Her intriguing analysis of personality and value changes taking place when bilinguals switch from one language context to another makes evident the important role second-language learning can have in the lives of students.

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[36] Susan Ervin, "The Verbal Behavior of Bilinguals: The Effects of Language of Response Upon the TAT Stories of Adult French Bilinguals," *American Psychologist,* August 1955, p. 391. See also "Language and TAT Content in Bilinguals," to be published in *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology.* Susan Ervin and C. E. Osgood, "Second Language Learning and Bilingualism," *op. cit.;* Susan Ervin, "Learning and Recall in Bilinguals," *American Journal of Psychology,* September 1961, pp. 446-451; "Semantic Shift in Bilingualism," *American Journal of Psychology,* June 1, 1961, pp. 233-241.

A Second Culture: New Imperative for American Education

by Howard Lee Nostrand

The question of what Americans really need to comprehend about foreign cultures is an unsolved problem, the occasion for an adventure of inquiry and not for a paper that lays down a prescriptive answer. I believe we are ready for a fresh attack on the whole cross-cultural aspect of the curriculum, an attack which can result both in a consensus on the kinds of things that should be taught, and in a research effort to provide systematic descriptions of cultures.

Even those curriculum specialists who earnestly question any value in learning a foreign language believe that the general curricular goals of respect for persons, empathic understanding, and cooperativeness should apply to international as well as to domestic human relations. Some even recognize a specific goal of "better communication" among peoples.[1]

Many modern-language teachers have broadened their professional aims to include a responsibility for teaching the sociocultural context of foreign languages. This concern was prominent in all the papers presented in 1962 at the Modern Language Association's annual review of its Foreign Language Program. The Language Development Program of the United States Office of Education is enabling me, with help from social scientists, to prepare a handbook for use in describing and teaching literate cultures.

Social scientists can be counted upon to develop part of the needed descriptive knowledge. Anthropologists, geographers, and sociologists have established committees in their national associations to study curricular problems.[2]

The Ideal of an International Community

Let me try to make explicit the values I believe we have in common that bear on what should be taught in our schools about the outside world. Some half dozen major American values prove relevant; and central among them is the relatively young ideal of an international community of peoples.

The President's Commission on National Goals referred to essentially the same ideal of international community when it named "helping to build an open and peaceful world" as the first of its "goals abroad."[3] This ideal belongs to our conception of a good society, but it is also related to our conception of good self-fulfillment of the individual.

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[1] Elizabeth Engle Thompson and Arthur E. Hamalainen, *Foreign Language Teaching in Elementary Schools; an Examination of Current Practices* (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, National Education Association, 1958), p. 9.

[2] American Anthropological Association, Anthropology Curriculum Study Project: Mrs. Malcolm Collier, Director, 5632 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 37, Ill.

Joint Committee on Education, Association of American Geographers and National Council for Geographic Education: William D. Pattison, Director, Study on the Improvement of High School Geography, Department of Geography, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles 24, Calif.

American Sociological Association, Committee on the Social Studies in the Secondary School Curriculum: Neal Gross, Chairman, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, Cambridge 38, Mass.

In our ideal of society, international community is one of the conditions that we believe would provide the individual with the best opportunity for the kind of inner life we value. Other conditions, I suggest, are the social freedoms that favor the inner freedom of the individual; social justice; a certain cultural solidarity within the nation; and relationships of community in all the groups we participate in, ranging from our families and immediate associates to the nation.

Politically, we mean by international community a community of peoples dominated by none, in which all individuals have representation through their governments. We do not mean, for the foreseeable future, a world government beyond the decentralized pattern of intergovernmental agencies, with specified powers, which has been developing. Our ambition is rather to live harmoniously in domestic, religious, and political communities which are related one to another by peaceful interchange, understanding, and healthy rivalry.

In economics, we mean a community based on persuasion and not on coercion, a community in which everyone is as free as possible to trade or not, according to his best interest as he sees it.

Culturally, we want the fewest possible barriers to the free interchange of ideas, scientific knowledge, technological advances, and artistic innovations. We want every culture to be left intact and to change only through voluntary reinterpretation and adjustment. At the same time, "community" means the possessing of something in common that is deeper than the conventionalities of politeness and legal agreements. The sort of tolerance we choose requires a consciousness of common problems and purposes. Voluntary community calls for a higher degree of mutual understanding than does a coercive structure.

If I am right in contending that the principle of persuasion is basic to the political, economic, and cultural environment we must strive for, I am introducing a new imperative into the canons that guide our international behavior. We who have enjoyed unparalleled power must now learn to persuade with the voice of a minority group. In international trade, we now have to sell our automobiles and refrigerators in competition with other exporting countries. In international politics, the white Caucasian contingent has become a minority, and we must persuade Asians and Africans, as well as Europeans, that their interests and ours coincide. And the time is coming when we shall control only a minor fraction of the world's military power.

Our superior wealth has aroused envy and resentment, and we face a new problem of winning friends and persuading people. It is proverbial that the American abroad gives the impression of acting as if he didn't care who owned the place. We must learn to show genuine respect for our hosts, appreciation for their culture, and an understanding of their interests, aspirations, and ways of doing things. We have no assurance that we can succeed, even if we educate in the best way we know, against the odds of human selfishness, narrowness, and opposition to change.[4]

Individual Self-Fulfillment Related to International Community

Now let us look into the values that form our ideal of individual self-fulfillment. Here a sense of international community extends the scope of four values in particular: purposefulness, balance or perspective, respect for persons, and intelligent love.

Purposefulness appears in individuals in widely vary-ing ways, but civic responsibility is one element of it that every individual must learn. Society is designed to serve the individual, but we expect every individual in return to help build a good society.[5]

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[3] *Goals for Americans*, President's Commission on National Goals (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 17.

[4] At the Colloquium, Edward D. Sullivan of Princeton University questioned whether it is possible, as I am supposing, to teach values by precept and example. He doubted the connection, therefore, between my effort here to define values to be taught and the curricular proposals presented later.

It seems clear from the studies of socialization in dissimilar societies that young children do learn values partly by precept and example, but this does not prove what I am assuming—that the curriculum at later stages of life can exert a strong influence. Some evidence is accumulating, however, that substantial changes in values and personality, not necessarily desirable, take place as late as the undergraduate period. (See Mervin B. Freedman, *Impact of College*. New Dimensions in Higher Education, No. 4. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960; and Nevitt Sanford (ed.), *The American College; Psychological and Social Interpretation of the Higher Learning*. Prepared by the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962). Students in one college estimate that the influence of courses and teachers accounts for a fourth of the significant changes they believe they have undergone in four college years. They rate the curriculum as the most powerful force, followed closely by work experience, "just growing up," fellow students, a faculty member, and the atmosphere of the college (*Antioch College Reports, 4; Effecting Change in the College Student* . . . Yellow Springs, Ohio: Office of Educational Research, Antioch College, 1963). I would maintain that the curriculum has a good chance of influencing values, and that the influence can be improved by refining our purposes and means, even if the means of transmitting values consist largely of implicit or indirect teaching.

Perspective must in our century be cross-cultural. Our ideal, I think, is to combine an active, empathic understanding of other faiths and ways of life with convictions of one's own, reasonably but firmly held. We have faced essentially the same problem in reconstructing the past: we grow more broadly human by projecting ourselves as far as possible into the mentality and feelings of those who have lived in another age. But we are firmly rooted in our own time, and we thus gain a historical perspective that our ancestors could not have. Failures in cross-cultural perspective are punished more sharply than failures in historical perspective, however, and our ancestors cannot throw us off balance or on the defensive, as our contemporaries do when they question our values and beliefs.

Cross-cultural perspective does not allow the individual the freedom to choose whatever assortment of mores appeals to him, for cultures are functional wholes whose parts have to fit together.

Respect for persons or human dignity, which constantly figures in current definitions of world civic spirit, I take to mean fairness to every human being whether we like him or not. This principle is important, especially when the spirit of love gives way to indignation or annoyance. If the principle is to be extended to our remotest human relations, it must be learned as a habit, not just an idea.

Respect, however, is cold and often humiliating to a sensitive person, unless there goes with it the love that the great religions talked about long before the idea of respect for all human beings entered our value system. To free the great concept of love from the taint of Romantic sentimentality, I suggest the term "intelligent love,"[6] meaning a love that realistically and reasonably seeks the well-being of its object rather than indulging in self-satisfaction. To achieve the intelligent love necessary for a sense of international community, we must radically strengthen the education we give, on both the intellectual side and the emotional or "cathectic" side. Certainly none of us has enough time to identify himself with all the world's peoples, but I believe that each of us, as a part of his education, should pick one foreign culture and internalize certain aspects of it.

The social skills needed for the development of cross-cultural understanding fall in the categories of communication and self-confidence or poise, which are related to values I have already mentioned. Among the main resources of self-confidence and the ability to communicate are purposefulness, perspective, respect for the other person, intelligent love, and whatever other qualities make up the individual's general social adequacy.

We can perhaps agree on two points about the communication skills. First, it is imperative that all our young people outgrow the limitations of parochial minds so that they can express themselves and understand others, to the extent of their abilities, within the framework of the values we have been considering. Second, it is desirable that all who can afford the time should learn to communicate in at least one language besides their own. We cannot afford to be misled by the shortsighted tactic, "Let 'em learn English." At a recent meeting of microbiologists in Rome, the Italians, Germans, French, and Russians all could speak English, with some effort; only one of the Americans spoke any second language, and he could sense the underlying resentment at the fact that every conversation participated in by the Americans had to be held in English.

The self-confidence to be oneself in any human situation is decidedly important in cross-cultural give-and-take. For we have all seen how embarrassment can make the most knowledgeable person do the wrong thing in spite of himself.

Both Knowledge and Experience Required

From this working draft of common values, I want to draw one cardinal inference for the curriculum. It is that understanding requires two ingredients: *knowledge about* and *experience of*. If the knowledge is lacking or misleading, experience will be forgotten or misapplied. We may spend our full time experiencing our own culture, after all, and still come out with little understanding of it that we can express or apply, unless we use knowledge to select and organize what is significant in the experience. On the other hand, the organizing knowledge becomes merely academic, empty of vital meaning, if its verbalizations allude to experience that simply isn't there. Neither experience nor knowledge can be so excellent as to make up for deficiencies in the other, and the understanding we seek to bring about will be mediocre unless we achieve excellence in both components and in their interaction to form an organized whole.

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[5] "Local Association Activities Leaflet No. 12" (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1962) includes a resolution passed by the chairmen of international committees of 18 NEA departments: "Good U.S. citizenship includes knowledge and understanding of the world's economic and political systems and cultures, as well as the economic, political, and cultural traditions of the United States. . . ." The leaflet then sketches out the personal qualities that education should consequently develop in all citizens: adaptability, cultural empathy, ideological clarity, patience, knowledge of the world, and responsibility.

William L. Langer, in an essay on "The United States Role in the World," written for the President's Commission on National Goals (see footnote 3), says: "Only breadth of outlook, readiness to recognize the need for change, and ability to adjust to novel conditions will enable even the greatest nations to keep pace with developments and aid statesmen in charting their course through the incredible complexities of international living."

[6] This term is gratefully borrowed from the Jesuit professors who contributed to one of the discussion groups at the twenty-second session of the American Assembly, October 1962.

We want to help design a curriculum that will bring about a fruitful interplay between experience of and knowledge about the values we have been considering. We may distinguish two large provinces of needed knowledge: generalized propositions about cultures and societies, and descriptive knowledge of specific sociocultural areas. When we come to the experiential side of understanding, we shall not be able to make this distinction. For the generalized concepts are abstractions from the abstractions about specific ways of life. Experience, always concrete, can vivify directly only the lower-level abstractions drawn directly from it; by bringing these to life, it gives life indirectly to the abstractions of the second order. This will mean that experience of specific societies and cultures must do double duty and will take on a double importance, if generalized concepts are really needed.

A person needs to comprehend at least three aspects of cultures and societies in general: what sort of thing they are; their mode of existence and of being transmitted; and their principal parts. I shall sketch out only enough of these three aspects to show that their proper understanding requires some revision of school and college curriculums.

First, then, all human cultures and societies are, by nature, highly patterned complexes of shared behavior; and their parts are sufficiently interdependent to form a functional whole. It seems essential for cross-cultural perspective to appreciate what it means that a person's thought process, emotional reactions, even his perception of reality, are all constituted in ways that vary from one culture to another. It is essential also to understand that cultures and societies function as wholes. We cannot always expect other peoples to adopt our individualism and free enterprise, our conception of achievement, our majority rule and voting procedures, however successful we find these patterns to be at home.

Insight into the nature of culture and society requires understanding of why they change and how they are transmitted. A. L. Kroeber's remark has often been repeated that "perhaps *how it comes to be* is really more distinctive of culture than what it *is*."[7] Culture "comes to be" through adaptive changes and internal readjustments as the patterns interact with new conditions, including the changing personality structures in new generations of learners; for culture is learned behavior. The same is true of the patterns that make up social institutions. Most of us have very scant insight into the process of learning. We all have rich experience of the process, yet for lack of enlightening knowledge to go with it, our personal experience sheds little light on the contrasts between cultures.

Are we not inconsistent in omitting the field of learning theory from our curriculums, while we rightly include the study of heredity on the ground that one should know what one can about the biological part of our inheritance? A grasp of learning theory would bring understanding and attract interest to other important areas besides that of cultures and societies. In the student's own learning it would make the difference between guiding himself and being excessively controlled by others, particularly when he comes to programed self-instruction. One can imagine that a proper knowledge of learning and of "socialization"—the processes by which one internalizes the approved behavior patterns of a society—could lead to more active interest in child development, which would be a boon indeed to many children who are now reared with cruel ineptitude.[8]

The third general aspect of cultures and societies—their principal parts—I shall treat here simply by grouping the parts into large categories,[9] for two purposes: to give an idea of the knowledge one needs in order to have a feeling for the similarities and differences among cultures; and to provide an inventory of the descriptive knowledge one must have in order to understand the inner workings of a specific sociocultural system.

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[7] *Anthropology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948), p. 253.

[8] Wallace E. Lambert, "Psychological Approaches to the Study of Language. Part I: On Learning, Thinking and Human Abilities," *Modern Language Journal*, February 1963, pp. 51-62.

[9] The principal parts are listed on page 40.

It is useful to distinguish four levels of organization, even though they interpenetrate. The bottom level comprises the biological and psychological integration of the human organism and its interaction with the environment, without the intervention of consciousness. The second level is that of the personality structure, including its conscious thought, feeling, and volition.

The third level represents the organization of society. It comprises the shared norms of behavior which form the social roles and the institutions of a society. The top level consists of the shared patterns of meaning which together are called a culture.[10] The chief patterns of this sort are a system of values, including some that shape the methods of seeking truth, of solving problems, and so on; basic premises not subject to proof, concerning the nature of man and the world; empirical knowledge; and systems of expressive forms: language, the accompanying systems of paralanguage and kinesics,[11] humor, and art forms, from the simplest folk art to the most elaborate types of imaginative literature, music, and visual art.

Awareness of all these aspects of cultures, societies, and the persons who transmit them are essential if one is to have a feeling for the similarities and differences among ways of life. The abstract categories I have listed are the universals. Within the universal categories one must learn to expect surprises and accept the immense variation among the specific systems of values, beliefs, expressive forms, social institutions, personality structures, and even among the conditioned forms of the biological processes.

Understanding a Single Culture and Society

If we turn now to the problem of understanding a single culture and society, the inventory just reviewed shows what a formidable quantity of descriptive knowledge it takes to understand a sociocultural whole in more than a superficial way. What is worse, the problem extends beyond this inventory in at least three directions.

In the first place, the inventory is concerned with regularities, with what is usual. Even if we express the usual patterns as ranges of variation, one must still add to these a knowledge of the unusual in the culture—for example, the exceptional achievements of great figures, in which the whole population takes pride.

Second, both the regularities and the exceptional achievements have a historical dimension which is an essential part of their significance. Cross-cultural inventories concentrate upon a synchronic tableau, but it would be false to regard the tableau as static. Some selective knowledge of the past is essential for understanding the drives and stresses in the momentary situation, which make it essentially dynamic.

In the third place, the inventory that fits all cultures and societies is not the best organization of data to express the unique flavor of life in a given culture area. Useful as the inventory's cross-cultural categories are as a checklist for both descriptive and comparative purposes, one needs also to know the major themes of a culture, its large, motivating principles, usually about 10 or 12 in number, which permeate and color the structures of personality, institutions, and ethos—themes such as our American conception of personal achievement, the French concern for perfect craftsmanship, the Hispanic theme expressed in the adage, "If you work in order to live, why work yourself to death?" Such themes always have a value component uppermost in them, for they carry the strongest emotional charge at the point at which they imply what one ought to do or ought to be; but each theme is likely also to include elements of factual belief, intellectual method, expressive form, and social behavior.

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[10] This conceptualization of four levels follows Talcott Parsons. See particularly his introductory chapters in Talcott Parsons, Edward Shils, Kaspar D. Naegele, and Jesse R. Pitts (eds.), *Theories of Society; Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1961), two volumes. Of the top two levels he writes: "The social-system focus is on the conditions involved in the interaction of actual human individuals who constitute concrete collectivities with determinate membership. The cultural-system focus, on the other hand, is on 'patterns' of meaning, e.g., of values, of norms, of organized knowledge and beliefs, of expressive 'form.' The basic concept for the integration and interpenetration of the two is institutionalization. . . ." (Vol. I, p. 34).

Julian Steward goes less far than Talcott Parsons toward organizing the cultural level as a system distinct from social structure. Steward finds that in western Europe the culture consists of international patterns that do not form a system but contribute to a sociocultural system within each nation. See his "Area Research; Theory and Practice," *Social Science Research Council Bulletin 63*, pp. 151-152. Even so, Steward agrees that culture and society must be visualized separately since they vary independently, for example in their degree of stability: a Hopi or an Amish community may have a rigid culture while their populations disintegrate by emigration; a certain Iowa farming community has a stable society and a rapidly changing culture.

[11] For paralanguage (for example, tone of voice, stress) and kinesics (gestures and body motions), see Edward T. Hall's *The Silent Language* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1959). Hall plans to publish further research on "proxemics," the spatial distance between conversing persons, which varies according to society and status. A conference on paralinguistics and kinesics was held at Indiana University in May 1962, with support from the U.S. Office of Education. The proceedings are to appear late in 1963 in Thomas A. Sebeok, Alfred S. Hayes, and Mary Catherine Bateson (eds.), *Approaches to Semiotics* (The Hague: Mouton). The volume will include five papers by scholars representing psychiatry, psychology, cultural anthropology, linguistics, and education, as well as an overview paper by Margaret Mead. Plans are under way for an eight-week seminar on semiotics (now redefined as total communication via all modalities, including touch, taste, and smell) to be held in the summer of 1964 under the direction of Alfred S. Hayes and Mary Catherine Bateson.

Our national ideals of individual self-fulfillment and a good society require, then, a certain understanding of cultures and societies, and this understanding depends on coupling knowledge with experience. But the universal concepts about cultures and societies are abstractions of a second order, drawn from generalizations about particular sociocultural areas. Understanding of both orders of ideas must draw its basic experiential ingredient, therefore, from experience of one or more particular ways of life.

The conclusion seems inescapable that some delimitable experience of a second culture is essential for a modern education. A comparative approach to at least two culture areas is needed. A person must compare at least two systems in order to comprehend the generalities about the ways cultures and societies differ from one another, and to appreciate how the universals are derived. And he must compare the systems as wholes, in order to grasp that they differ not only in their anatomical parts but in the functional relationships among the more or less analogous parts. Granting that the first of the two systems selected may be the learner's own culture and that he already has the needed experience of it, the second culture poses the problem of assimilating both the descriptive knowledge and the essential experience to go with it.

Margaret Mead convinces me that in teaching about a second culture we need to refer also to a third culture, in order to avoid the naïve contrast of "We do this, they do that." The learner "is still in a box," as she observes. Yet I hope it will suffice to refer continually to parts of diverse cultures to serve this purpose, rather than to any third culture studied as a whole.

Since the end of World War II dissatisfaction with our success in the teaching of world-mindedness has brought about a change in curricular thinking in America.

In 1945 the National Education Association Committee on International Relations and two NEA departments joined in preparing a volume in which they defined at length "the world-minded American."[12] In a sanguine foreword the United States Representative to the United Nations, Warren Austin, urged exuberantly that "Children ought to grow up with intimate feelings of association with people of every culture and condition." The book recommends nothing less comprehensive than a knowledge of "the customs and habits of people in all parts of the world; and the economic, social, political, and religious environment in which they live."

In retrospect, however, this great blueprint seems unrealistic in its hope of how much territory could be covered. How time has chastened our expectations since the time of that pioneering volume is illustrated by three publications of 1962.

The National Council for the Social Studies and the American Council of Learned Societies sponsored a book of essays by distinguished specialists in history, geography, political science, economics, cultural anthropology, sociology, psychology, and area study of Asia and of Russia and Eastern Europe. Gordon Turner of the ACLS reports in the foreword that the authors and the representatives of the two sponsoring councils, in a preliminary meeting, reached three decisions: that the authors would discuss the important educational contributions of their fields; that the resulting content should be proposed as important for all who finish high school; and that "students should have an understanding of at least one culture other than their own. . . ."[13]

A second illustration comes from the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project, whose director enters these cautions in her report on the project to the Fellows of the American Anthropological Association:

". . . We must make it very clear that a course or unit is not anthropology just because it is about American Indians or other preliterate groups. It must be about them in a particular way. It must be about whole societies, be comparative, be inductive. We also insist on sufficient quantities of data to be meaningful and not just enough to be illustrative. . . .

"Another general caution is for people who expect anthropology to save the world and promote the peace by developing 'understanding through familiarity.' If we can help students take the first steps away from an ethnocentric view of the world, the contribution will be important, but over-expectation of quick, practical results can only lead to disillusionment."[14]

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[12] National Education Association, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, and National Council for the Social Studies, *Education for International Understanding in American Schools; Suggestions and Recommendations* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1948).

[13] *The Social Studies and the Social Sciences* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962), pp. vii-viii.

A third example of the present more realistic attack is the report of a conference convened by the United States Office of Education, on the ideals of American freedom and the international dimension of education.[15] The five prominent persons who served as chairmen of the working committees make a series of statements, one of which is particularly pertinent here: "Current citizenship competencies require a more comprehensive knowledge of the societies and cultures of other peoples than heretofore."[16] A paragraph developing the statement begins, "The ways and means of communication are so changed as to require a new approach to teaching about other societies." The new approach involves selection of illustrative sociocultural areas, for the paragraph points out that "Area studies are a promising vehicle which has only begun to be tested." Another statement recommends concentration on one culture area as a vehicle of understanding: "The international dimensions of education and the contracting political environment require the rapid extension of instruction in the languages of other peoples, beginning with the elementary grades." The ensuing explanatory paragraph proposes that experimental elementary and secondary schools "offer a second language in every grade, and perhaps a third in the upper grades, with emphasis on conversational skill and cultural understanding, with systematic programming, continuity, and competent teachers. . . ."

It is prudent, finally, to see that each learner experiences two cultures in some depth. Verbal constructs are bad masters unless they are used by a person who has a feeling for how far to trust them, and nothing but concrete experience can reveal how much of an actual phenomenon a verbal approximation fails to capture. Ambassador Hu Shih said, "The mark of the educated mind is that it does not take generalizations literally."

Some non-Western thinkers, among them the Senegalese poet and statesman, Léopold Senghor, contrast the whole analytical and synthetic approach toward understanding, which we Westerners take for granted, with their own approach through "participating" in a phenomenon. Our Western approach needs no apology; non-Western societies are borrowing advantageously its science and its technologies of medicine, agriculture, and industry. But at its best, our approach uses conceptual knowledge only in conjunction with experience of its referent; and this experience is essentially the same self-projection that Asian and African traditions refer to as "participating" in the undifferentiated continuum of reality, perceiving it aesthetically before imposing constructs upon it.

Should every American's second culture be non-Western? Tentatively, I think not. The advantage every person might thus gain toward his self-fulfillment seems to me less than the advantages he would gain both in enrichment of his personal life and through the improvement of his nation's effectiveness, by living in a society in which every contemporary culture is the hobby of some persons, and in which some persons are assimilating the cultures of the great extinct societies.

Any culture more remote from us than those of the British Commonwealth seems to offer sufficient culture shock, provided we project ourselves into it experientially, to bring about the Copernican step from an ethnocentric to a comparative view. French culture, for example, despite our heavy borrowings from its ideology of liberty, equality, and community, can still shock our more dogmatic attitudes toward political heresy and toward individual deviations in mores. And when French children are brought vividly into a group of our children, as happens when an authentic film is shown in the classroom, the shock to ethnocentrism sparks from a hundred unexpected details. In one unit of the filmed course "Parlons Français"[17] two French girl scouts arrive at the top of a hill and decide to sit down there and eat their lunch while they enjoy the view and cool off after the warm climb—a situation as universal, in the abstract, as the proposition that children are the same the world over. Yet in the concrete it provokes a derisive twitter among fifth-graders because the French girls wear odd scout uniforms and have an odd way of exclaiming about the heat. The teacher can of course modify this reaction by appealing beforehand to the children's broad-mindedness. Indeed, good teachers can use such episodes to develop in their students an active interest in conquering intercultural barriers.

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[14] Mrs. Malcolm Collier, "Report on the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project," *Fellow Newsletter, American Anthropological Association*, November 1962, pp. 2-4.

[15] *Education for Freedom and World Understanding: A Report of the Working Committees of the Conference on the Ideals of American Freedom and the International Dimensions of Education, March 26-28, 1961*, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962).

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[17] Produced by the Modern Language Project (Robert W. Cannaday, Jr., director of the French Project). Published by Heath deRochemont Corp., 6 Newbury Street, Boston 16, Mass., 1959. Distributed by the National Educational Television and Radio Center, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Changing the Curriculum

The problem of bringing the requisite experience and accompanying knowledge into an already brimful curriculum is difficult but no cause for defeatism. After all, the curriculum has been brimful before, yet logically necessary changes have been brought about. We shall simply have to add sparingly and change not so much by discarding as by suffusing the old with new meaning. If we can decide first what parts of a foreign sociocultural system really need to be experienced, we shall be able to examine how the parts might be fitted into the curriculum.

What the learner needs to experience depends on our educational purposes. We can discover empirically what a given group of learners finds hard to understand or to get along with in the target culture and society, and we can logically inquire what major parts of the sociocultural whole one must comprehend in order to deal intelligently with any one part.

Among the many reasons for studying foreign cultures and societies, I think the curriculum can concentrate on two: cross-cultural understanding and communication. The understanding we mean calls for experience that will support a cross-cultural perspective on oneself, and insight into the nature of cultures and societies in general, as well as a comprehension of two sociocultural systems. The ability to grasp meanings that depend on the context of one's second culture is a part of this comprehension.

The cross-cultural communication we mean calls for the further ability to use a foreign language and to participate in the target society—not as a facsimile of a native, but rather as a welcome outsider.

At this point we should list—however diffidently—the parts of a sociocultural whole that need to be experienced for the purpose of cross-cultural understanding. It is useful to list in a parallel column the additional items required for the ability to communicate. The items can be stated briefly by including only their knowledge component. One must imagine the interacting experience in the form of multiple concrete examples. Experience must be presented selectively — for example, through books or films—to make real the fact of social and cultural change. One must also take into account variations by geographical regions, socioeconomic groups, age groups; contrasts between urban and rural subcultures; and discrepancies between professed principles and behavioral practices. A draft of the two lists is given on the following page.

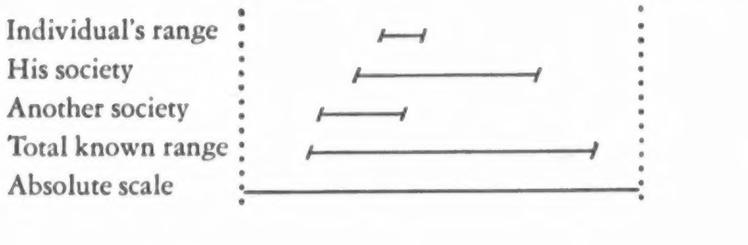
Surprisingly, the items needed for understanding a sociocultural system turn out to be much bulkier than those needed additionally for communicating with its members, even though the latter column includes the active use of a second language. The value system and social structure, however they are presented, would each make the equivalent of a year-long project, comparable to a year of language study, if one undertakes to combine the descriptive knowledge with experience and to put them in historical and cross-cultural perspective. The literature and folklore of a people, whether experienced directly or indirectly through translations, would fill a third such unit. The geography of the area, whether expounded as such or integrated into projects, would add at least half of a fourth unit.

It will doubtless become possible to reduce somewhat the experience implied in the first column, when we have empirical research to show that some points can safely be omitted. It will certainly be possible to make the materials easier to assimilate by organizing the interdisciplinary knowledge involved, and by identifying main themes in a culture so that a single situation can provide experience of a value, its related factual assumptions, and its impact on social institutions and on individuals. If literature is read in the original, it can combine a tremendous variety of experience into a single encounter. Nevertheless, in order to acquire a near-adult perspective, a learner must somehow experience, through multiple examples, most of what is summarized in that long column.

We can delimit more explicity how much we mean by "multiple examples" of the regularities in the culture and the social structure. A regularity in the behavior of an individual—for example, the submissiveness of a child to parental authority—is most accurately represented not as a point, but as a range of variation. The child is not uniformly submissive on all occasions, nor on all issues. The same regularity in a whole society will cover a wider range of variation, which will include the individual case. In order to understand a feature of one or more societies in cross-cultural perspective, we can place their ranges of variation against the total range of all known societies, and also—since more extreme cultures may be discovered—against an absolute scale rang-

Needed for understanding and for communication	*Needed additionally for communication*
1. All the culture-wide values (Parson's motivational or consummatory subsystem [18]), including the method-shaping values.	
2. The key assumptions about reality (Parsons' "ground of meaning" subsystem). Historic achievements of the people in philosophy and religion.	
3. Any empirical beliefs (Parsons' cognitive subsystems) whose substance or functional relationships will differ from the learner's expectation. Historic achievements in the sciences and mathematics.	
4. Enough of the language for a sense of what it has in common with other languages, what makes it unique: structures that express key assumptions; words and phrases that express values, disvalues, sentiments, proprieties, intergroup attitudes, and so forth.	1. Active use of all common structures and vocabulary of the language.
5. Enough of the paralanguage and kinesics to know all types of expressiveness indicative of the culture.	2. Active use of the few main types of paralinguistic expression. Kinesics probably not needed for active use.
6. Humor: common types, topics, and proprieties.	
7. Art forms (Parsons' "expressive symbolization" subsystem). Examples of all common types, especially of literature (which could best be understood in the original). The main historic masterworks in the arts.	
8. The social institutions: familial (including socialization), religious, educational, economic-occupational, political and judicial, intellectual-aesthetic, recreational. Analysis of these institutions into their main component roles; and the norms of behavior approved, permissible, or disapproved in relation to each role. The processes of pattern maintenance and of social change.	3. Assimilation of the behavior patterns acceptable from a foreign guest.
9. The society's adaptation to geography and climate. The people's main achievements in technology.	
10. The prevalent types or characteristics of personality, and any indicative behavior patterns at the organismic level. The processes by which the characteristic patterns are internalized.	

ing from, for example, the most extreme imaginable degree of child submissiveness to the extreme of independence. To express the relationships graphically, we could mark off gradations on the absolute scale and place the partial ranges accordingly:



Language and Culture

What is the place of the language in the left-hand column of the list at the top of this page? Alternatives for complex, untranslatable value terms of a people would amount to ineffectual resymbolizing in substitute terms. The same applies to the role relationships in a social structure, expressed in terms of address or by pronouns that distinguish between familiarity and formality, or between power and deference. How can such distinctions be experienced, as contrasted with merely knowing that they exist as "strange customs in foreign lands"? Experience appears to mean observing the distinctions, or using them, until they no longer seem alien.

The learning of a language can make several other contributions toward the learner's development, apart from his understanding of a second culture. It can teach how much we are demanding of others if we expect them to learn our language. It can make us more language-conscious, more attentive to the phenomenon of language and its functions in our life—a blind spot in the self-understanding of most bearers of our American culture, which results in most of us proving to be poor craftsmen when we are forced to organize words consciously. And a language rightly learned gives us a method and the self-confidence to learn whatever we need or want of other languages in later life—an ability that certainly would strengthen what is now a weak point in our culture.

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[18] Talcott Parsons, "The Functional Differentiation of Cultural Systems," in Talcott Parsons, Edward Shils, Kaspar D. Naegele, and Jesse R. Pitts (eds.), *Theories of Society; Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory, op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 982-984.

The need for a second culture in our young people's development seems bound to become greater. Meanwhile, applied psychology and linguistics are steadily increasing the efficiency of language learning. At some point, the time seems bound to come when the most economical approach to a culture will include enough of the language for at least simple communication and the reading of representative literature.

In my judgment, that time has now arrived.

Need for Cultural Synthesis

How can the curriculum enable the learner to assimilate what he needs—just for the purpose of cross-cultural understanding—of a foreign sociocultural system including whatever of its language, literature, and history will serve economically toward that purpose? Let us answer this question as far as possible on the plane of practical devices, assuming that the understanding that we contrive to impart exists, or will exist, in a usable state.

We need to be able to assume that we have at our disposal a synthesis of the understanding an adult should have concerning cultures and societies in general, his own and his second sociocultural system. I suggest choosing the end of college education, rather than of secondary schooling, as the target point for completion of the cycle. The objective most worth formulating is an adult understanding, and this is the objective that scholars and scientists are competent to define. A cultural synthesis would define the curriculum's long-range objective, in terms of content essential for understanding at an adult level. But childhood and adolescence are not only a preparation for adulthood; they should have their own fulfillment and satisfactions. The long-range objectives and the more immediate objectives have to be reconciled, in the devices we use to make the requisite content assimilable into the process of the learner's life.[19]

The first step toward applying a cultural synthesis is to assign each of its items to the earliest age level at which the item can be grasped. The National Council for the Social Studies, in its Curriculum Series, has produced excellent examples of the needed kind of working syllabus, within the limitations of the synthesis that was available.[20] At this step, the central role devolves on those expert in the learner's growth and development. But the specialists in the materials to be taught can be very useful in their accessory roles. They know what knowledge and experience in their fields can arouse interest and motivate initiative at each age level.

In general, the experience of and knowledge about a given item should probably both be assigned to the same age level; but exceptions and complications are inevitable. The child who enjoys learning a nursery rhyme, or learning to exchange amenities with a foreigner, can have significant knowledge of what he is doing, yet at a later age he will be able to build the same experience into a much more general understanding. It is also possible, at least after childhood, for ideas to precede their realization in experience. John Dewey once mentioned that some of his ideas had first come to him wholly by logical inference and it was only later that they were confirmed experientially.

After the essential content has been arranged by age levels we can organize the items into meaningful sequences so that the successive stages will coincide with the developing interests of the learner. In this complex step lies the hope of improving our crowded curriculum. If we skillfully organize the sequences, approaching old topics from new directions, we can achieve much of our cross-cultural objective by showing new relationships instead of by adding new substance; and we can make some old content so much more exciting that ideas we now teach over and over again—as in the case of grammar and good usage—will be grasped more quickly. Energy will thus be freed for whatever new content is selected. It is a heartening sign that the director of the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project believes that an introductory course in anthropology may be unnecessary for the purpose of adding her discipline's large contribution to the curriculum; she considers that we might gain more by incorporating the needed content into other sequences, from kindergarten on.[21]

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[19] I am assuming that the culture of an individual, and also of an epoch, is an interplay between process and content—the universally human activity of thought and sensitivity to feeling, interacting with the dated and localized content of a particular "culture" and social structure. I have examined this assumption in "Toward Agreement on Cultural Essentials," *Journal of General Education,* January 1958, pp. 7-27.

[20] See Nos. 4 (1956) through 11 (1961).

Proposed Curricular Sequence

Now let me try to picture a model sequence designed to carry out the learner's essential purpose of experiencing empathically how "life" feels and how "reality" is pictured in his second culture. I shall postulate that if we draw into this sequence all the essential experience of the culture and social structure that can be given most efficiently through the culture's language, the time required for a modest, active competence in the language can be justified as a means of gaining cross-cultural understanding, without considering the other benefits to the learner. The interacting knowledge about the culture and social structure would meanwhile be given partly in parallel sequences dealing with the general nature of societies and cultures, but the language sequence would apply the general knowledge, elaborate the descriptive knowledge of the target culture, and compare that system with the learner's mother culture.

The model would begin slowly in the lowest grades with folk songs, children's poems, and proverbs in the foreign language, selected for the cultural themes they can later be used to exemplify; films in which children of the foreign country exemplify the authentic materials; and some comment by the classroom teacher, conveying whatever pertinent insights have been assigned to this age level—perhaps the common humanity of all children and the relative unimportance of surface differences. Expressions for greetings, for "please," "thank you," and so forth, would also be introduced from the beginning, as rudimentary situational dialogues presented on film, with comment perhaps on the universality of kindness and thoughtfulness and the necessity of using customary proprieties despite their variability. As early as possible, the comment should include descriptive generalizations about elements of the target society and culture.

From the third or fourth grade on, situational dialogues of five or six minutes' length, presented on film, can be learned in hardly more time than it takes to act them out. The comment should now be preceded by firsthand observation. It can be an absorbing game, in fact, to spy out social and cultural details observable in authentic films: how the children act toward grown-ups, how close the people stand to one another in conversing, what their facial expressions and tone of voice mean, and so on.[22] Soon the children will be ready to be taught some of the regularities in the foreign system. This descriptive knowledge will be meaningful and easy to remember because it summarizes what they have observed. They have also participated momentarily in the culture by acting out what they have observed.

We need not make a fetish of using the target language throughout a lesson plan. Ideas and analyses that are useful before they can be handled in the language can be discussed in English, and in fact the curiosity aroused can motivate children to look into encyclopedias and read source books in English. Students are ready long before they suspect, however, to carry on class discussions in the second language, asking simple questions and understanding more complicated answers.

The situational dialogues can be varied with brief stories, which can be works of literary merit. Later, a class can watch a motion picture to see what values and behavior patterns it reveals. Adolescents find it fun to try out their knowledge of the culture by guessing and discussing, halfway through a film, how they expect the story to end. After two or three years, depending on how many minutes a week have been lived in the target language, literature can be brought in to give experience of just about any feature of a society or culture one may wish: its greatness or its regularities (once they are established), its present or its past, its conscious thought or unconscious assumptions, its critically examined ideas, and its vague expressions (like "the American way") that pass unchallenged because the culture bearers consider the referents self-evident.

Literature read in the original can give a many-sided experience that the reader of translations cannot suspect. To him one may explain that Racine achieves miracles of sublimity by combining simple, everyday words with a subtle elegance that gives a feeling of greatness; but such descriptions mean little if they allude to experience that is not there.

Literature and the documentary approach need not be kept separate. Juan Marichal of Harvard arranges for his advanced students, on a tour of Spain, to interview a contemporary author they have studied. Authors cannot oblige all foreign students this way, to be sure. But how inspiring a film of such an interview might be for thousands of students interested in Spanish culture, provided they have a modest competence in Spanish.

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[21] See footnote 14.

[22] Nelson Brooks, in his *Language and Language Learning; Theory and Practice* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1960), lists 23 key questions an anthropologist is likely to pose in observing a culture (pp. 83-84). He then adapts the list to the interests of young foreign learners, and the result is a very useful inventory of 64 items (pp. 87-92).

The language gives access to newspapers and magazines, radio broadcasts and television, with their interpretations of current affairs. Students can make clippings files on their personal interests, and they can collect theme expressions from the writings and behavior of the culture bearers they observe and have the satisfaction of building their own account of themes in the culture; without the language, they would be restricted and dependent. This freedom of approach makes it possible to penetrate more effectively into the history of the culture, with individual excursions into any period or field.

Whatever a student's central interest, the language will free him to follow it into his second culture. The high school or college student of mathematics who has chosen French culture, for example, would be fascinated not only by classical writings in that field from Descartes to Poincaré, but also by some of the essays still being produced by the authors of the *Traité d' Analyse* who write under the fictitious name of Bourbaki.

If one can eventually visit a foreign country, knowledge of the language frees him to converse with people in various sectors of the society. A person who has learned about a second culture in the manner we have been considering would make such a purposeful tourist that a dull moment would be difficult for him and his hosts as well.

If one never visits the country, the new media now can give vivid experience of its life. A filmed course such as "Parlons Français"[23] needs only to combine the rich experience it already offers with equally authentic descriptive knowledge—which awaits the process of synthesis. The new media will not stop where they now are, however. Museums are developing vivid new presentations of a people's everyday life as well as its exceptional achievements; and these concentrated exhibits can at least be filmed if they cannot travel about. Most striking of all, perhaps, is the proposal by F. Rand Morton of the University of Michigan that the language-laboratory booth and the teaching machine be transformed into a multisensory "acculturation chamber," which might educate the learner to respond to cultural situations much as a jet pilot is trained to react to the conditions of supersonic flight.[24] This product of his creative imagination may be no more impractical than his once visionary idea of a language laboratory in which the student would be able to dial minimal-step exercises at his own pace—a decidedly practical idea, since the "Dialog" laboratory, made by Chester Electronics, is now in operation in scores of schools and colleges.

Short of an optimum sequence such as the one I have sketched, it is still possible to use the foreign language effectively in giving experience of the second culture. In the intermediate grades, many of the items summarized in the column of 10 essentials could be presented in situational films simpler than the candid documentaries that the students in the model sequence would be able to handle by that time. At the high school and college levels literature can be studied, though less freely than with students who are more at home in the language. Other promising devices are syllabi and courses designed to add the experiential side to the study of expository materials, which are steadily improving.[25]

The syllabus approach would enable a student, with the help of his language teacher and other teachers, to take initiative in extending his experience of his second culture in accord with his personal interests. By making very selective suggestions, the syllabus could save him a great deal of hunting in the library. By spreading out the possible fields and activities, the device can broaden his view of his own interests. The nearest approximation thus far to such a *vade mecum* is probably the set of "Guides for Majors" recently produced by the several associations of language teachers at the suggestion of the Modern Language Association.[26]

One type of high school or college course designed to give experience of a culture is evolving from the old "civilization course," in much the same way that modern cultural museums are presenting the ordinary life of significant groups in a society as well as the society's exceptional achievements. Another type of course, soon to be tried at the University of Washington on the graduate level, will start from the behavior and ideas of a population and give practice in organizing the data into intelligible wholes such as cultural "themes" or Parsonian "subsystems."

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[23] See footnote 17.

[24] "The Language Laboratory as a Teaching Machine," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, October 1960, p. 165.

[25] For example, Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn's worthwhile and readable exposition of cultural values and social structure will be published in the fall of 1963, somewhat shortened, as "Unit I: Man, Society, and Social Order" in Donald H. Riddle (ed.), *Problems and Promise of American Democracy* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1963), which is a high school text. See also footnotes 2, 13, and 14.

[26] Richard M. Chadbourne and Edward J. Geary, "A Program of French Studies: A Guide for the College Student," *French Review*, December 1961, pp. 221-251.
Gardiner H. London and Robert G. Mead, Jr., "A Program of Hispanic Studies for the College Student," *Hispania*, May 1961, pp. 383-406.
Olga Ragusa, "A Program of Italian Studies (Suggestions for the College Student)," *Italica*, June 1961, pp. 161-173.

In one way or another, then, the curriculum can give every learner some understanding of a second culture. The learner's understanding must be expected to vary according to the thoroughness with which we in education organize and coordinate the sequences that make up the curriculum.

Cultural Synthesis Prerequisite to Curricular Change

This brings us to the last and most difficult problem of our inquiry, the practical steps to be taken on the plane of synthesis.

We first need a synthesis of enlightening knowledge about societies and cultures, to be arranged by the experts in human development according to the age level at which each item becomes understandable. The items of knowledge must then be organized, with experiences to vivify them, in logical sequences.

Our need cannot be met by a series of departmental syntheses, nor even by three or four large partial integrations. The superdepartments called divisions of knowledge are still disruptive and destructive of the coherence we must strive for if our objective is wisdom rather than a set of museum exhibits showing what one would think to be wisdom if one saw only this or that or the other side of the whole. The academic structure of departments and divisions, useful as it is, fails conspicuously when we build curricular sequences of a new type, illustrated by an interdivisional approach to civic education or to the understanding of rational method.[27]

The disruptive effect operates in subtler ways, moreover. If in teaching the humanities we use a reading book about Indians, about "foreign lands" or about American society, which misinforms the learner from the standpoint of the social sciences, we are missing a precious opportunity for economizing our efforts. What is worse, we are confusing the learner and wasting his time, which is more valuable than ours since he is younger and more impressionable and will probably retain what he learns after we have forgotten and been forgotten. Whatever sort of sequences we use, we must improve our success in making their internal details corroborate, not contradict, what is taught in other sequences.

In short, interdisciplinary coordination between curricular sequences necessitates the same coordination inside them. Whether or not our applied sequences teach in separate compartments about our culture and other cultures, or about science, social science, and humanities, we cannot escape the need for truly interdisciplinary coherence of outlook and for cooperation of specialists.

The appalling difficulty of culture-wide synthesis in our complex modern cultures arises from several sources. The fundamental source is our diversity of ultimate "grounds of meaning" or ultimate interpretations of reality. Two psychologists, for example, may disagree fundamentally on the meaning of an experimental event and the inferences that can be drawn from it. Another source of the difficulty is the fact that synthesis requires collaboration, and our individualistic society rewards achievements that can be signed individually. Still another source is our increasing "overspecialization"—by which we mean not excessive knowledge of a speciality but deficient understanding of other sectors in a culture-wide synthesis.

Our national culture has gradually become fragmented. The process has advanced in cycles that closely follow the 30-year spans called "generations"[28]—a pattern that suggests an interesting implication for the present moment.

In the generation whose policies took shape about 1850, the college curriculum was broken into departmental specialties on the supposition, then valid, that essentially the same "ground of meaning" would be assumed in every discipline. The generation of 1880 introduced the elective system, which extended the decentralization from academic fields to individual learners.

Then began the attempts to reverse the trend. The generation of 1910 tried to assure that our intellectual leadership would possess a culture-wide understanding by requiring the distribution of elective courses in the several divisions of knowledge, assuming that the samples would be mutually alternative, which they proved not to be.

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[27] I have urged in an earlier paper the need to sustain progress on four levels of inquiry: practical application, synthesis of knowledge, critique of the synthesis in use—and free inquiry, which differs from the three lower levels in not having to be relevant to accepted ideas but is necessary, since without it the three other levels become bankrupt of fresh ideas ("The Agenda for a New Generation," *Journal of General Education,* October 1957, pp. 190-204). See also footnote 19.

[28] I have presented the evidence to support this contention in "La Evolución de la cultura académica en los Estados Unidos de 1760 a 1940," *Pensamiento Peruano,* November-December 1945, pp. 11-18; January-February 1946, pp. 21-28.

The next generation, whose achievement culminated about 1940, endeavored to replace the alternative fragments with survey courses. This was the "general education movement" in higher education, paralleled by the movement of "integration" in high school curriculums. Now that we can look back on that movement as a thing of the past, I think one can see that its tragic flaw was to attempt the organization of human understanding at the applied level of the curriculum.

The lesson we would have to learn, in order to better the modest success of that generation, is that coordination at the applied level depends on a deliberate, interdisciplinary endeavor on the plane of culture-wide synthesis. If the 30-year cycles continue, as I believe they have since 1760, the success or failure of our generation will depend on how we use our energies between now and about 1970.

Given the interest of various professional groups, public support, and available research funds, precisely what can we do that would be adequate to our opportunity and to the danger that we may pile up one more comparative failure?

I suggest a program of synthesis organized separately from that of educational application, so that we cannot mistake success at the applied level, where we Americans excel, for success at the level of synthesis. Separate organization would mean that separate centers should provide the clearing-house service necessary, at both levels, for an informal, nonregimenting sort of leadership.

While the applied psychologists, curriculum designers, and teachers and educational administrators would take the lead on the applied plane, the research scholars needed on the synthesis plane might be brought together by organizations in the social sciences and humanities for the synthesizing of general knowledge about societies and cultures; and by the language, literature, and area-study specialists for the descriptive knowledge of specific sociocultural systems, including our own. Morris Opler, currently president of the American Anthropological Association, and the foremost developer of the thematic description of cultures, has remarked that while anthropologists tend to go from one culture to another, the specialists in a foreign language and literature tend to stay with one culture, so that these specialists may well be the proper persons to take a central responsibility in the study of the foreign cultures whose languages we teach. Margaret Mead has added the pertinent observation that the study of a culture should be undertaken by teams representing three or more cultural groups: natives to the culture and representatives of at least two outside cultures.

This suggests that foreign-language teachers, and their professional associations and journals, should lead in describing as well as teaching foreign cultures. The teachers should carry on research in areas of personal competence. The associations could establish contact with other researchers on the same culture, both within its territory and in any other parts of the world. The journals could organize sets of status studies so that all may keep track of the rapid progress we need to make.

As we build a framework for cultivating the neglected level of synthesis, however, we must bear in mind above all that contributions added up end to end, from one discipline at a time, are not enough. Each of us, and each of our professional organizations, faces the almost impossible task of fitting a specialized contribution into a synthesis which alone can endow the contribution with its true meaning and usefulness.

[Note: An extended version of Dr. Nostrand's paper is available by interlibrary loan from the University of Washington Library, Seattle 5, Washington.]

The Change from Traditional to Modern in Language Teaching

by Nelson Brooks

The focal point of this discussion is not a South Sea island where a little-known language may be analyzed and described. It is not an archeological ruin where the precious relics of a former language may be pieced together and made meaningful. Nor is it a psychological laboratory where the ingredients of learning are singled out and measured and weighed with precision and care. It is not a writing desk or a printing house where learning materials are prepared and set forth, nor is it a meeting of a committee or a conference where the grand strategy of organized learning is developed and perfected.

Yet the focal point in question—teacher-learner interaction during the time that instruction in a foreign language is actually taking place—is closely related to all these. Descriptive linguistics, cultural anthropology, and psychology have all contributed many valuable insights to our knowledge of what a language is and how it is learned. Professional initiative and broad public interest and support have centered attention on the importance of our subject. At the focal point we have chosen, all that is meant by language, by a foreign language, and by instruction, is, directly or indirectly, involved. We are concerned with an interaction that results in learning, and in this instance in the learning of another language. During this interaction, the cerebral cortex of the learner undergoes certain changes that bring the nerve cells to a higher state of integration than before. Unless this happens, we can hardly say that instruction has been worth the effort.

We are not so much concerned here with the promising results of fresh experimentation and research, however appealing they may be, as with the actual state of affairs and the tendencies that are to be observed in the total field. The locus of formal learning is for the most part the classroom, where, typically, one or several adolescents look one way and face an adult, the teacher, who faces them. The advances made during this confrontation, if any, depend on what each individual brings to the situation in terms of attitude, preparation, previous learning, inner drive, and positive expectancy. They depend also on the orientation of this cooperative effort, the behavior patterns that are gone through while the session lasts, and the materials and techniques that are employed.

No one who observes a class in the learning of a foreign language can fail to be impressed by the fact that the roots of this activity are many and far-reaching. Where and how did the teacher develop the skills he is called upon to display in the practice of his art? Who identified the objectives and charted the course along which classroom activities are to proceed, and in what way are these made manifest? What does the learner already know that may either help or hinder his success in learning? How receptive is his mind to the new imprinting that it must absorb and retain if the presence of new learning is later to be detected? What are the instruments that will later be used to measure his progress from nowhere to somewhere and from somewhere to somewhere else? By whom were these instruments designed and perfected, and what is their effect upon the learning process? What immediate and long-term outcomes, of which the learner may or may not be aware, seem assured as a result of what takes place? Above all, what is the value of the linguistic processes and products upon which instruction fixes attention while the session lasts?

Are we referring here to ancient languages as well as modern? Yes. Although the acceptance of a revised pedagogy has not been so general in, for example, the field of Latin as in that of Spanish, the underlying principles have been worked out for both and they are surprisingly similar. We shall speak for the most part about contemporary languages, for it is here that both the need and the change are most apparent. But nearly all that is said about modern-language learning is also true of classical languages, except that there are today no native speakers of the latter. Linguistic change has therefore stopped, and communication with a native speaker of a classical language is no longer possible.

There is at present wide professional agreement on the objectives of language study. Perhaps the most significant area of consensus is that we now study a language as communication and for communication, remembering that communication in the narrowest sense is at the level of small talk but in its wider meaning refers to what is central in all human relationships and is a major concern in science, in literature, and in fine art. We have become much more keenly aware of language as a symbolic transformation, as individual and dual behavior, as a system of sounds and meaningful sound clusters that fit together in a great variety of sentence patterns, as an important element in personality, and as raw material for the fine art of literature. We now perceive more clearly than before that language is not only something we see but also something we say. There is even wide agreement that the saying comes before the seeing, and that this fact should be appropriately reflected in the learning process.

Language occurs in three different states: internalized, air-borne, and pictured or printed on paper. Having for centuries been considered essentially in its pictured state, language has now been analyzed with remarkable depth and clarity in its air-borne form. This analysis has resulted in many revisions of our understanding of its pictured state. We are now embarking upon a scientific exploration of its internalized state, though knowing well the limitations of science as we go from the reality of overt speech to the unreality of thought. Language in action proceeds in two parallel and related streams, one of code and one of meaning. The learner of a new language must learn not only a new code but a new pattern of meaning to accompany that code—that is, meaning as it relates to the culture whose language he is learning. Except when language is talking about itself (that is, most of the time, outside of classrooms) words do not mean words—they mean nonwords. This fact has given a new breadth to the connotation of "culture" and has added a new and challenging task to the activities of the language teacher.

The distinction between the two streams, code and meaning, has a special significance with regard to pictures. As far as the learning of code is concerned, pictures, moving or still, appear to be of little use, if any. In the area of meaning (which seems to involve a different kind of learning) pictures can be of unquestioned value.

We now understand better than we did the nature of the skills we teach. We perceive that two of the skills, listening and reading, are receptive, while the other two, speaking and writing, are productive. As we do so, we note that the learner's control over these skills is of necessity similar to what it is in the mother tongue: that he will understand vastly more than he will ever say and will be able to read vastly more than he will ever write. Pairing the skills in another way, listening with speaking, and reading with writing, we perceive an equally important distinction, one for which we have coined a new term. We refer to the first two, listening and speaking, as "audio-lingual." The second two we call "visual-graphic."

Language in its audio-lingual form is what all languages were before the invention of writing, all that language is for every child until he learns to write, and what language is in greater part for everyone the world over. To speak of "audio-lingual method" is of course naïve for it shows a lack of understanding of both words. An audio-lingual method would lead to little more than illiteracy, which is hardly our goal.

We are in a state of transition, transition *from* a classroom aimed at one skill—reading—to be developed in a two-year course in which grammar is learned through rules and examples, vocabulary is learned through bilingual word lists, English is available to both teacher and learner at all times, and reference is made at all times to language as it appears in books, in notebooks, and on blackboards. And all this without benefit of any face-to-face communication in the language being learned. We are in transition *toward* a classroom in which all four skills are learned, with appropriate sequence and emphasis, in a course lasting from four to six years or longer. Analogy is put to work with analysis in the learning of structure. Vocabulary is learned in the context of whole utterances in the foreign language, and English is made use of not for communication but only to establish meaning (and for certain other pedagogical purposes). Comprehension is developed in the foreign language without the intervention of English. Rather than being a workshop for the comparative analysis of two language codes, the classroom is becoming a cultural island in which the new language is used as it is used in the foreign country, as a medium of communication in normal interpersonal relationships, in the details of everyday life, in the study of the new culture, and in an acquaintance with and an appreciation for its literature.

We are tending toward a much more detailed and carefully programed course of study. In order that what is now termed "programed learning" may be effective, goals must become and remain clear, the most direct route to these goals must be marked out and followed, the learner's advance must be by minimal steps, error must be overcome by avoiding it, efficiency of progress must be heightened by immediate and constant reinforcement of the learning desired. The proponents of programed learning have reminded us of some basic facts about our work in the field of languages, and we needed these reminders. They have said: Remember, we don't learn by making mistakes, we learn by giving the right response. Decide what you want the learner eventually to know, then start at the beginning point and guide him to that destination by minimal steps, helping him to diminish error by simply avoiding it and by telling him quickly when he is right. Make repetition and reentry of what he has already learned a constant practice. Take "model" and "reinforcement" as your two key words.

The recommendations of programed learning are appealing, efficient, and time-saving. But in our subject matter, programers have yet to discover how to help the learner find and correct his own mistakes in the sound system. And apparently they have yet to discover that language is something that takes place between two people, related in a single behavior pattern, and that, for the young, the machine is a poor substitute for a linguistic partner. Programed learning is, in essence, a refined and enlightened application of what formal education has always striven for: a systematic ordering of what is to be learned and a presentation of these matters in a learnable way. Now that goals are far more precisely defined than before, now that additional skills are to be learned, now that much more is known about the learning process, programed learning may become a most valuable asset in language learning.

Some tendencies toward fully programed learning are already visible. In the new perspective, the teacher provides models in the foreign language for all the skills the student is to learn (including writing) and engages in direct exchange of communication with class and individual. His own modeling may be supplemented by recordings on tape or disc which are used by the student in the classroom, or in the language laboratory, or at home. This modeling becomes an integral part not only of beginning levels but of more advanced levels as well. The single book has been separated into segments for initial learning; there are now certain parts that, for a time, the student hears and speaks but does not see, sections for special training in reading and writing, for class work, for laboratory work, for structure drills, for sustained reading, and for tests. Of course these various segments are summarized in manuals for the teacher and accompanied by generous directions concerning techniques of presentation, correction, reinforcement, and interaction. We now envisage separate texts for the learning of language competence, for cultural studies, and for literary readings.

In the learning of grammar, much more reliance is now placed upon analogy and less upon analysis in the methods and materials used. In order to become familiar with a structural pattern, the student first learns a sequence of sentences or utterances constructed on a single plan and only then extracts from them the single formula on which all were built. Again, he learns a sequence of sentences that present a consistent pattern of minimal changes, then extracts a rule that summarizes these typical changes. By so doing, he makes use not only of generalizations that help him perceive "how the language works" but also of hidden sameness, a factor that was so ever-present and so forceful in the learning of the mother tongue. The establishment of a word pile or lexical pool is minimized until the student has control of the sound system and the sentence patterns that are frequent in the spoken exchange of language. But then the expansion of vocabulary becomes a prime objective. It is reached essentially by dealing with words and phrases in the context in which they occur and by making all reasonable use of the foreign language in establishing new meanings. Of course English is referred to when necessary and when such reference does not detract from the skills already established.

We have ceased to think only of the grade the student is in; we think rather of the level of advancement he has reached in the subject matter. For this reason we have given the word *Level* this practical definition: the amount of work that is normally done in the high school in a class that meets five times a week. In junior high school, a level may last for two years, and in elementary school it may last for three or four. In college, a level may be accomplished in a semester. We may consider that Levels I and II constitute the basic course, no matter when the learner starts. Levels III and IV are intermediate and advanced work and are sufficient for the needs of a language requirement. Levels V and VI embrace the equivalent of courses offered under the College Board Advanced Placement Program, in which the student is given a balanced experience in language competence, in cultural insight, and in literary acquaintance and appreciation.

[The following paragraphs are quoted from *Language Instruction: Perspective and Prospectus* (tentative draft), prepared by Nelson Brooks, Charles F. Hockett, and Everett V. O'Rourke and issued by the California State Department of Education in January 1963. Pages 35-39.]

Description of Competence by Levels

The boundaries between successive levels must be recognized as somewhat arbitrary, since the learning of a language is in a sense continuous and unending. However, it is possible to specify approximately what should be achieved by the end of each level. This achievement can be neither described nor tested in terms of the amount of time the learner has spent in class or the number of pages he has "covered" in a textbook. Such information is useful, but must be supplemented by answers to questions such as these:

How well can the student perform in the four basic skills?

In what situations is he at home?

How well does he control the sounds of the target language?

What patterns can he use with accuracy and fluency when he speaks or writes?

How extensive is his passive vocabulary as he listens and reads, his active vocabulary as he speaks and writes?

What literary texts has he read and studied?

What cultural information has he assimilated?

How well can he retell what he has heard and read?

How well can he initiate talk and writing on his own?

What the student should be able to do by the end of each of the first four levels is briefly outlined here. For the sake of explicitness, we mention such matters as tense, gender, number. This renders the outline directly applicable only to the more familiar languages of Western Europe. Specialists in such less familiar languages as Chinese or Japanese bear the responsibility for appropriate adaptation. Such adaptation is also necessary for languages that have more complex or alien writing systems.

Level I

Demonstrate, in hearing and in speaking, control of the whole sound system.

Repeat the account of a brief incident as he hears it read, phrase by phrase.

Retell aloud such an incident after repeating it in this way.

Participate (with a fluent speaker) in a dialogue about any one of perhaps twenty situations.

Read aloud a familiar text.

Write a familiar text from dictation.

Rewrite a simple narrative containing familiar material, making simple changes in tense.

Do orally and in writing exercises that involve a limited manipulation of number, gender, word order, tense, replacement, negation, interrogation, command, comparison, possession.

Level II

Demonstrate continued accurate control of the sound system.

Recognize all of the basic syntactic patterns of speech, and use most of them.

Comprehend, by listening and also by reading, any subject matter that is comparable in content and difficulty to what he has learned.

Be able to write all that he can say.

Have firsthand knowledge of brief samples of cultural and of contemporary literary prose, and be able to converse in simple terms about them.

Level III

Demonstrate continued accurate control of the sound system.

Demonstrate accurate control, in hearing and in speaking, of all the basic syntactic patterns of speech.

Read aloud a text comparable in content and style to what he has studied.

Demonstrate the ability to understand through listening a variety of texts prepared for comprehension by the ear.

Write from dictation a text he has previously examined for the details of its written forms.

Demonstrate adequate comprehension and control of all but low-frequency patterns of syntax and unusual vocabulary encountered in printed texts.

Have firsthand knowledge of one to two hundred pages of readings of a cultural and literary nature, be able to discuss them orally, and to write acceptable sentences and paragraphs about their contents.

Level IV

Read aloud an unfamiliar printed text.

Write from dictation, (a) following a preliminary reading and (b) without a preliminary reading, passages of literary prose.

Converse with a fluent speaker on a topic such as a play seen, a novel read, a trip taken, or a residence lived in.

Read a text; then, in writing, (a) summarize its contents and (b) comment on the ideas expressed.

In a page or two of text, carefully selected for the purpose, discover and comment upon a stated number of points that are culturally significant; these may be in linguistic structure, in idiom, or in vocabulary reference (e.g., if English were the language being learned, a text about the United States in which the term "night school" appears).

Receive oral instructions about an assignment to be written: its nature, its contents, to whom addressed, its form, its length, its style of presentation; then write it.

The content of Levels V and VI is subject to much wider variation, to meet the needs of specific students. For many students, a minimal course that will maintain and strengthen the skills, meeting perhaps twice a week and, if necessary, with no outside preparation, can be recommended. This will enable such a student to keep alive the skills he has perfected, and make his resumption of full-time effort in language learning much easier as he subsequently adjusts to his college program. For others, a bilingual course in a content subject—biology, chemistry, mathematics, automotive engineering, or virtually anything else—is highly useful. For most, a course involving the usual schedule and curriculum content is best. Students whose work is exceptionally satisfactory, and who can afford the time required, warrant an advanced placement program.

The question of the place of literature in a language program is basically a question of where the learning is taking place. Language can be learned in a wide variety of circumstances. It can be learned at home, on the playground, in business and in travel, in the armed services and the diplomatic corps. The program under discussion here comes under none of these categories. Rather, it is conducted under the auspices of the academic world, and the values of this world must be respected. In this world, literature has a constant and important place. The time and attention given to literature in the first two levels must, in the nature of things, be very limited, though the appropriateness of folk literature, proverbs, and brief lyrics for memorization is not to be overlooked. Many teachers will feel that Level II should not be completed without presenting at least a brief sample of authentic literature, studied in order to gain acquaintance with a segment of the target language as used by a writer. This is certainly in order, provided that the samples are accessible to the student without the painful decipherment of too much new vocabulary. Levels III and IV will give an important place to literary texts. These will be studied principally for the language they contain, yet the continued learning of structure and vocabulary will take on an added dimension of meaning by being related to characters and situations in the story being read. At this time there is likewise room in the reading schedule for material that is well written and is culturally significant but that makes no pretense of being belletristic. This kind of reading should be sought out in books and prefaces, in periodicals and even newspapers, then selected and adapted to the needs of the learner. [End of quotation from *Language Instruction: Perspective and Prospectus.*]

The recognition of new objectives is already bringing about many changes in what is expected of the teacher in the classroom and in the nature of the materials prepared for his use. The United States government, through the National Defense Education Act, has since 1959 been supporting an institute program for the training and retraining—on college and university campuses—of secondary and elementary school teachers of modern languages. It has also supported the development of new materials for teaching languages in the secondary schools and for testing the language ability of both teachers and students. These efforts have not been without effect. At the present time, both the College Board and the Cooperative Test Division of Educational Testing Service are conducting national surveys of what is happening in language classes. Both are asking teachers one essential question: Is your classroom to be defined as traditional or as audio-lingual? There is already ample evidence that as of now both are widely popular.

Certain technological developments are helping us in our transition. Since paper and printer's ink can't talk, it has become necessary to devise new kinds of materials for new kinds of learning. The language laboratory has become the audio-lingual book. A tape-recording machine can present an excellent model, sounded through earphones within less than an inch of the learner's ear. It can repeat the model with exactness in every detail and do so endlessly. The patience of the machine is almost inexhaustible.

A language laboratory is a room so equipped that a number of students—a class or even several classes—can work with recordings at the same time. Such language laboratories are now to be found everywhere. There are hundreds of them on college campuses and thousands of them in secondary schools. In itself, the language laboratory provides no guarantee whatever that language learning will improve. Yet when used by a skillful teacher, with laboratory work and classroom work fully integrated, a marked improvement in speed and quality of learning usually results. Contrary to what has been thought in the past, the value of the laboratory appears to lie much less in the opportunity for the learner to compare his recorded voice with that of the model and much more in simple imitations of a model and in various types of structure drill. The mechanisms in the laboratory can supplement and relieve the teacher's voice and can provide more frequent repetitions for those learners who require them. The laboratory has become very important in testing the audio-lingual skills. In general, it can be said that the value of the laboratory is less in terms of whether the installation is simple or complicated and more in terms of whether the teacher relates laboratory work directly with classroom work and makes it an integral part of his course.

Materials, methods, and measurement are closely interrelated and interdependent. Modification and development in any one involves complementary changes in the others. Tests and measurements are keeping pace with the changes in objectives and classroom procedures, as we can see in the newly developed batteries of tests in all the language skills. Thanks to research work done by the College Board and by Educational Testing Service in recent years and to the generous aid of the United States government in the form of funds made available under the National Defense Education Act, we now have reliable ways of measuring the productive as well as the receptive skills on the part of both teachers and students. The teacher as well as the learner constantly needs a reliable estimate of the latter's progress. Administration officials need an accurate index of advances made through the proposed curriculum. Only tests, carefully made and sufficiently varied, can respond adequately to these requirements. In our transition period, many innovations in curriculum content and learning techniques are being proposed and tried out. Evaluation of these new departures also requires measurement, especially in terms of broadly based norms. Only standardized tests can yield this indispensable information.

A most welcome by-product of standardized tests is a growing awareness by teachers of more and better ways of preparing homemade tests. And as progress tests improve and become more numerous, we perceive with satisfaction the reinforcement to learning that results from a testing program that is skillfully interwoven with the learning sequence.

It is now appropriate for us to pose a question that we have seldom asked in the past: Is our language learner a monolingual, knowing only a mother tongue, or is he, because of experiences in or outside formal education, already accustomed to communicating in more than one language? As a learner, the latter differs very much from the former, as much as the musician who already plays an instrument and begins another differs from the nonmusician who is just at the threshold of his musical career. A mandate of extreme importance seems implied in our transition process: the breaking of the monolingual shell is a school task, which for important psychological reasons should be accomplished in the elementary or the secondary school, and in terms of the circumstances of formal education that there obtain. Although this is now often postponed until the student reaches college, it is not truly a college assignment nor can it be rightly understood and accomplished in terms of the college world.

The College Board Advanced Placement Program, now beginning to be widely followed in the last year of the secondary school, is a clear reflection of the kind of preparation the colleges would prefer to have the undergraduate bring to his freshman year. Colleges may for some time yet be willing to add new languages after a second language has already been established. But the college is uneasy and often inept in dealing with the monolingual student. The sooner the schools assume full responsibility for drawing the learner out of his monolingual shell and for establishing the beginnings of bilingualism, the better for all concerned. There is every indication that this can be done in the language classroom, and that it is being done far more widely today than ever before. If all our programs could be, or would even strive to be, as good as the best that we can now identify over and over again, we could indeed consider language learning to be in very good estate.

The Technology of Modern-Language Learning

by Joseph C. Hutchinson

The current American revolution in foreign-language teaching and learning has emerged during the past 20 years partly as a result of methodological and technological innovations and partly as a result of the changing world situation and the new demands made on the United States for greater involvement in a variety of international activities. Our increasing commitments and responsibilities throughout the world have focused attention on our sadly neglected resources for communicating effectively with foreign people. The awakening of public interest to this national need has stimulated a quickening of pace in our schools and colleges.

Language-teaching reform movements aimed at teaching the spoken as well as the written language have usually originated in Europe, but the fullest implementation of their goals has been reached in the United States. American efficiency has developed the practical application of sound theory in language learning in response to the needs for linguistic skills dramatized particularly by World War II. American leadership has also pioneered in the development of the language laboratory, but this technological innovation has often caught traditional teachers short because their methods were not ready for it. A progressive interaction has been taking place in the adjustment of methods to machines and machines to methods. The history of these innovations has been well documented in a recent book by Professor Pierre R. Léon of the University of Besançon, who traces the antecedents of the language laboratory during the past 60 years.[1]

It would be unwise to consider the use of modern technology in any area of education without first examining its relevance to the job to be done. The appropriate relationship of equipment to pedagogy must be studied and established on the basis of the objectives of the curriculum. If these are not well defined, the use of instructional equipment will not be effective or even pertinent, for the various educational media are neutral tools which have a great potential for amplifying inferior instruction as well as superior instruction. If one cannot teach well without equipment, one should not expect to be able to teach well with it. Although the establishment of aims and objectives is a standard procedure in American education, we often find that these have been more idealistic than realistic or more theoretical than practical. The gap between pedagogical theory and application has seriously concerned us all, especially in the light of compromises and adjustments which must be made for various administrative reasons.

The advances being made through new scientific approaches in other disciplines have had their impact on foreign-language teaching and learning. Linguistic science has made major contributions to our theory and practice, but we are also finding keener insight into many of our problems from other fields, such as the psychology of learning. A new combination is already emerging called "psycho-linguistics." These interdisciplinary efforts have helped us extend our knowledge and understanding of the nature of language and language learning.

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[1] *Laboratoire de Langues et Correction Phonétique* (Paris: Didier, 1962).

The principles of programed instruction have been developed through a careful study of the learning processes, and their detailed application is already preparing the way for yet another revolution in teaching and learning. We can learn much by examining the way these principles have been applied to the use of modern technology in language learning. For example, if we use as a model the three essential characteristics of programed instruction,[2] we will find that they are pertinent to the planning, selection, and use of the various educational media: A planned program must be based on a detailed specification of the behavior desired (terminal behavior); it seeks to organize the instruction in the best possible sequence and in the best possible sizes of steps to produce optimum efficiency in learning; and at every critical point it provides the student with an opportunity to test his learning.

The revolution in foreign-language teaching has already made similar progress toward more efficient ways of learning through a combination of scientific and intuitive procedures. For example, the nature of language has been re-examined so that we can more clearly specify the differences between written language and spoken language. The need for developing skills in the spoken language, as well as the written language, has gained considerable recognition so that understanding, speaking, reading, and writing can all be classified as desirable terminal behaviors. Furthermore, the nature of language learning has been re-examined so that our profession is beginning to recognize the efficacy of sequential development of the four skills in the order mentioned above. In fact, limited objectives within each skill can be profitably specified as prerequisites to moving forward to the next objective. For example, aural-discrimination training may be a prerequisite to aural-comprehension training. Certainly the listening and reading skills are respectively prerequisites to the speaking and writing skills. Yet it is possible to be able to understand a language without being able to speak it or to read it without writing it. The sophisticated simplification of grammatical and phonological structures through carefully sequenced pattern drills has brought us to a high degree of efficiency in sequences and sizes of steps, especially in comparison with the traditional uses of paradigms, grammar rules, lists of words, and translation exercises. The final step, that of providing an opportunity for the student to test his mastery at every critical point, is perhaps the most difficult to achieve, especially if the first two steps are faulty in any way. Nevertheless, new class and laboratory techniques have been gradually developed during the past 15 years to provide a considerable amount of confirmation and reinforcement of the learner's responses. This does not mean that foreign-language learning has reached a state of perfection, but it does indicate that practice had in many instances approached the threshold of programed instruction.

Programed instruction may or may not involve "hardware" or mechanical devices, for a program may be presented by a machine, by a textbook, or by a teacher. The determination of how the program is to be presented can be made before or after the basic program has been developed, although audio material can hardly be presented in the same way as written and pictorial materials. It is obvious that the desired terminal behavior also is an important factor in the choice of equipment.

So it is with a school foreign-language curriculum. Efficiency in planning for and using various kinds of language-laboratory facilities depends first on the specification of the desired terminal behavior. What skills, knowledge, and appreciation are to be developed and in what order? How far will students have an opportunity to progress in each of these? What opportunities will be available for students to develop according to their individual differences? Modern technology can help implement many aspects of an instructional program, and while the language-laboratory concept was developed by foreign-language teachers primarily to help students practice listening and speaking under more efficient conditions, it can be used for other kinds of learning activities. However, it would be poor pedagogy and poor economics to use expensive equipment mainly for purposes other than those for which it is best suited. Nor should one expect to reap maximum benefits by superimposing a language laboratory on a program in which the objectives, the administrative framework, the teachers, the materials, or the methods are not adjustable to or coordinated with the basic principles in accordance with which the language laboratory was developed. The language laboratory makes its greatest contribution as an integral part of a program in which audio-lingual instruction forms the basis for the progressive and continuous development of all the language skills. It is at its weakest when used, no matter how skillfully, for purposes that are incongruous with or do not take full advantage of its potential.

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[2] John B. Carroll, "What the Foreign Language Teacher Trainer or Supervisor Should Know About Programmed Instruction in the Foreign Language Field," unpublished work paper for Language Teacher Training Seminar, University of Washington, August 1962.

The concept of the "systems" approach to learning is not entirely new, but we are beginning to use this approach more successfully as we understand how many elements can work together efficiently to produce an integrated and congruous whole. In foreign-language teaching today we are becoming aware of this as we deal with the many systems, and systems within systems, that must function together to produce and maintain a quality program of teaching and learning. Language itself is a highly complex system of interrelated systems. We are realizing that the whole does not always equal the sum of all its parts. We are also finding that the whole is made up of multifaceted patterns and configurations that are more efficiently handled and understood as parts that can be detached from the whole, rather than as detached parts that may or may not be assembled to form a congruous whole. In other words, it is more efficient to learn how a puzzle works by first disassembling it and then reassembling it than by starting out with only disassembled parts.

Synergism is defined as the cooperative action of discrete agencies such that the total effect is greater than the sum of effects taken independently, as in the action of the mixtures of certain drugs. We should not overlook the dynamics of cooperative interaction, or synergistic effect, which is part of the potential of any system, whether it be language itself, the foreign-language curriculum, the administrative framework, the teaching materials, or the teaching equipment. The articulation, integration, and synchronization of all operating components in these systems should be well balanced so that each contributes what it can do best but does not take over functions that can be performed better by another. Thus a well-balanced system produces stronger and more efficient results than any single component could produce alone. Some of the educational media have not been successful in certain applications because they were called upon to do too much without the appropriate combination of supporting equipment, materials, and personnel. A language-laboratory system, for example, not only must contain components that are electronically compatible; the teaching materials and the manner in which the system is used must also be pedagogically compatible with classroom activities and with the curriculum.

It is now appropriate to consider in more detail what the components of a language-laboratory system are and just what they contribute to teaching and learning. Various audio-visual specialists have acclaimed the language laboratory as the outstanding technological development in education today. We should not forget that every distinctive characteristic of the language laboratory was developed by pioneering foreign-language teachers who were seeking more efficient ways to accomplish teaching and learning tasks. This included materials and techniques, as well as equipment, for just as in programed instruction it is the program, not the machine, that teaches.

If understanding and speaking a foreign language are basic objectives of the foreign-language curriculum it would be a serious oversight to ignore the basic contributions that can be made by some of the various types of language-laboratory facilities. If, on the other hand, the listening and speaking skills are not among the primary objectives of the foreign-language program, there will be little need to consider the acquisition of such facilities. The local situation should determine the type to be selected. It should go without saying that the foreign-language teachers themselves should play a key role in the choice of equipment and materials. Two basic requirements cannot be overstressed. The equipment must continue to produce clear and undistorted sound that is better than average, and it must remain durable and dependable enough for the rigorous demands of institutional use. One must remember that adequate equipment will not compensate for inadequate materials and methods, for the key to the newer approaches to foreign-language learning is found basically in the methods and materials rather than in the equipment. One should especially be on guard against boredom which may be caused by material that is too difficult, too long, monotonous, disparate, or, even worse, so easy that no challenge is offered to the student. Class and laboratory must work hand-in-hand in order to make possible an effective program and to avoid a dual curriculum.

The basic purpose of a language laboratory is to provide efficient practice facilities for listening and speaking that will reinforce and consolidate what has been learned in class. Whether methodology is exploiting technology here or whether the reverse is true, the need for regular and frequent practice is a corollary to the concept that understanding and speaking skills are habits and that a habit is acquired and developed only through practice. The degree of habit formation is often misunderstood or underspecified. What we mean here is "overlearning" to the point of automatic and instantaneous reaction to what one hears and a ready response expressing what one wishes to say. This practice can make proficiency a realistic goal.

In the next few paragraphs I will set forth some of the contributions of the major components of language-laboratory facilities. They are presented in order from simple to complex, except that the first section on recordings refers to a variety of applications—in a laboratory system, as a separate playback machine, in a regular classroom, in a library, or as take-home audio discs. The paragraph on the intercommunication system is pertinent only to those systems in which microphones are used.

Recordings. Recordings of foreign-language lesson materials have the basic function of efficiently presenting speech models for student practice. Whether presented through a loudspeaker or through headphones, these speech models can be consistent and untiring, authentic and natural, varied, and carefully sequenced. Once correct models are recorded, they will continue to be correct, no matter how many times they are presented. The best models are educated native speakers with phonogenic voices, who are skillful in recording the script so that it sounds natural and interesting without distortions or exaggerations in tempo, accent, intonation, or rhythm. The technical quality of both the original recording and subsequent reproduction facilities must be high enough to assure a clear and faithful copy of the "live" model. It is important for students to become accustomed to hearing and reacting to many types of voices (male, female, different ages, and so forth) and to have an opportunity to practice imitating more than one native model, especially after the first few weeks. Speech models should be presented in a way that gives the student ample opportunity to listen to natural uninterrupted speech, as in dialogues; to practice imitating the models in a step-by-step manner, preferably in short utterances of three to seven syllables during the early stages; to respond actively to a variety of sequential (small increment) pattern drills and other appropriate exercises; and to hear an immediate confirmation or correct version of each of his responses.

Recordings can also strengthen the teacher's effectiveness by releasing him from the tedious task of presenting repetitive drill materials (as many as 100 to 200 sentences are sometimes modeled in a 10-minute period of intensive drill). This can be exhausting work even for an energetic teacher. Recordings can give the teacher and the student instant access to and constant control over authentic speech models as an instructional resource or reference to be used at will, in or out of class. They allow the teacher to concentrate on the evaluation of student performance. There is not yet a machine that can perform this important function, but the machine can present effectively most of the models needed. Therefore, the teacher's fundamental role in working directly with individual students is enhanced by a new division of labor between man and machine.

Recordings can facilitate audio-lingual instruction techniques, especially during the prereading period when the course materials are presented and practiced only in oral form. In fact, true audio-lingual procedures cannot be followed efficiently unless the recorded material is the text and consequently forms the basis for the integration and synchronization of all learning activities. The teacher particularly needs more time for the creative aspects of teaching, such as helping students make the transition from speech manipulation to actual communication. Recordings can also reinforce the teacher's own command of the foreign language and can facilitate testing of the listening skills.

Headphones. Headphones, with a program source, form the basic ingredient that is common to all language-laboratory systems, from the simplest to the most complex. Headphones can give the student a more intimate contact with the language, whether he is listening alone or as part of a group. Headphones simulate a one-to-one teacher-student ratio through individualized sound reception. They equalize hearing conditions (so that all students have a "front-row seat"), reduce distractions, encourage concentration on the recorded models, and make possible the simultaneous grouping of different activities, related or unrelated, such as two or more recorded programs or a "live" program concurrent with a recorded program.

Headphone-microphone (audio-active). The headphone-microphone combination can provide: efficient conditions for group listening-speaking practice which is more individualized than choral drill in that each student responds on his own initiative without being influenced by the split-second prompting of those who are more linguistically nimble (all members of a class can thus engage in active practice simultaneously, yet individually); a comfortable matching through the headphones of the acoustical levels of the student's voice and the recorded model; and an opportunity for self-evaluation of his spoken responses through simultaneous self-monitoring.

Headphone-microphone-recorder. The previous combination connected to a special tape recorder can provide each student with his own independent program source, thus permitting complete individual control over the program presentation and full adjustment to individual learning rates, including the possibility of self-instruction with appropriate materials. This equipment can also free the teacher from the necessity of operating a common program source, except perhaps for the first playing when students make their copies. It can also facilitate make-up work for absentees, remedial work for slower students, and advanced or collateral work for faster students. These special recorders can provide each student with an opportunity to concentrate on the evaluation and correction of his own responses by comparing them with the recorded model. This feature can add a special dimension to motivation, particularly when the comparison is made immediately; accelerate learning for those who are capable of profiting from this kind of exercise (whether by natural aptitude or by special training in aural discrimination); and furnish the teacher a useful means of demonstrating to the student what his performance actually is so that progress can be reinforced and special problems can be identified and remedied. Student recorders in a laboratory system can also provide facilities for administering group tests of the listening and speaking skills.

Intercommunication system. The laboratory intercom system can provide efficient facilities for the teacher to use in evaluating and correcting individual student performance during practice with recorded materials. The teacher can monitor individual student responses with or without his knowledge. Knowing that any of their responses are likely to be heard and evaluated tends to encourage students to continue participating actively. This evaluation can also serve as the basis for daily grades. By coaching individual students without disturbing the work of other students or being disturbed by them, the teacher personalizes the recorded program and permits more individual and subtle adjustments and reinforcements than would otherwise be possible. The reinforcement of correct responses tends to encourage continued attention and effort by the students. Thus a continuous one-to-one teacher-student ratio can actually be achieved by the teacher within the limited time available for working with each student. It is entirely feasible for a teacher to give succinct and valuable help to several students in one minute, regardless of where they are seated. Regular or lengthy "live" instruction, however, is more suitable in a class situation without equipment. An intercommunication system can provide for flexible arrangements to implement new techniques in working with special groupings of students which are not possible or efficient in a regular classroom situation.

Booths or partitions. Booths or partitions can provide visual isolation for the student. This psychological advantage gives him a reassuring sense of privacy and encourages concentration by reducing distractions. This is especially useful if students are working simultaneously with different practice materials. The partitions provide a limited amount of acoustical isolation and control over distracting noises. The degree of effectiveness depends on several factors, such as the kind of acoustical treatment used in the booths and in the room.

Most discussions on the use of language-laboratory facilities inherently revolve around the early stages of foreign-language learning. However, many of the potential uses are applicable to the more advanced stages and have not yet been fully explored and exploited. The first obvious use is that of listening to authentic recordings of literary items, such as plays, poems, short stories, and the like. Special lectures, "explications de textes," advanced-level pattern drills, oral compositions, exercises on the stylistics of the spoken language, and special exercises on phonetics and phonemics are examples of locally prepared materials which are being used for more advanced levels. Tape recorders have also been used effectively to help students memorize parts in a play or the words of songs and poems. In intermediate or advanced levels, students in a language laboratory have been paired off by means of the intercommunication system so that as many as 15 simulated telephone conversations can be carried on simultaneously and under the guidance of the teacher through the monitor-intercom system. Although there is already available a considerable amount of formal literature in recorded form, there is very little available of a more informal nature, such as interviews with interesting personalities, panel discussions on informative topics, news commentaries, and the like. Advanced students need to maintain and broaden their ability to use the spoken language and should not be limited to contacts with oral language in a formal setting lest linguistic atrophy set in. An audio library would be very useful for listening assignments or for "browsing" outside class, for students need to have individual direct access to oral literature just as books give direct access to the written literature.

Various kinds of visual aids, pictorial and graphic, have been used successfully in foreign-language teaching for decades. Used with appropriate skill these supporting aids can make valuable contributions at all levels of language learning. They can provide meaningful contrasts or comparisons in a variety of ways. However, they have always been controversial because there is a tendency to overrate the scope of their effectiveness. Otto Jespersen warned of this danger at the beginning of the century when he wrote that visual aids should not be used as the only means of explanation or illustration. They are capable of illustrating certain things so much better than words that they may tend to "over-illustrate" or distract. They can evoke perhaps more meaning than is needed for certain teaching situations. "A picture is worth a thousand words," but there are times when one needs to work within the narrow framework of a very limited and carefully selected vocabulary in which the evocation of unwanted words and ideas causes a disturbing interference. At another time when one is ready to expand on the number of words to be learned the picture may be just the thing needed to stimulate and motivate the student.

Perhaps the greatest problem in the area of visual aids is that the theory of their use in foreign-language learning seems very logical, but the practical application of theory is particularly frustrating when one relies too heavily on these aids. However, more and more creative people who are sensitive to the problems and limitations are beginning to work out new and better ways of making visual aids that are designed to do a specific job—not merely dragged in out of context. For example, carefully planned pictures can be effectively used as cues for pattern drills or as multiple-choice items for oral tests. They can also make a valuable contribution in illustrating situations as a basis for controlled or free conversations, but as always they should be compatible with sound pedagogical principles for the specific level of learning.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of visual aids is that of photographs or films for the presentation of authentic details of the foreign culture. When properly designed and used, films have the potential of being the next best thing to an actual visit to a foreign country. Not only are they highly motivating but they can also present enough details to allow each student to reappraise, perhaps subconsciously, his own synthetic image of the foreign culture and base it on something more substantial and realistic. Glimpses of selected aspects of foreign culture and behavior patterns can be especially useful in the early stages of language learning to help establish certain basic reference points in the student's mind for some of the major contrasts between his own culture and that of the foreign country. He may have a stereotyped image of the kind of clothing worn in a particular country without realizing that his own counterpart in that country may wear the same type of clothing that he wears. Or he may imagine that such words as "bread," "house," and "store" have the same connotations in the foreign culture as they do in his own. Judicious use of appropriate visual aids can indeed enhance language learning as long as they play a supporting role and are not allowed to interfere with the major task of learning the sounds and structures of the foreign language in meaningful contexts.

A basic problem in the design and preparation of films for foreign-language learning is the tremendous expense involved. Fortunately, funds have been found to support further experimentation in this area. Teaching films that present various aspects of both the cultural heritage and the everyday behavior patterns in foreign countries are already appearing and are making important contributions to language learning. Two types of films that have been used inappropriately in early language training are the travelogue and the filmed classroom language lesson. The former can be used much more effectively at advanced levels, and the latter can make a distinctive contribution as a demonstration for teacher-training purposes. The problem of unnatural or distorted speech, or actions and situations, applies to films as well as to recordings. The disembodied voice of the recording also appears all too often on the film sound track when the narrator's voice robs his audience of the opportunity of hearing the actual voices of the people seen on the screen. This is not to suggest that an exaggerated close-up of mouths is desirable but rather that the full impact of the film's capability to portray reality, at least the visual and auditory elements of it, is thus seriously hampered for language-learning purposes. Although most of the available films for teaching purposes are more suited to the intermediate and advanced levels, much greater use can be made of selected feature films at the advanced levels, particularly those which present literary masterpieces or informative documentaries.

The basic principles concerning what is appropriate to the learning task at hand and to the various levels of instruction should be especially observed in the use of visual aids. We are not yet as far advanced in this category for visual aids as we are for audio materials. Improvements are reflected in some of the new packages of integrated materials that include visual as well as recorded materials. To expect visual materials to carry too much of the load would be unrealistic. Finally, the audio quality of sound films and projectors is still not good enough to furnish adequate speech models for student practice in the early stages. Some improvements in the mechanical noise factor can be gained by feeding the sound track through the headphones of a language-laboratory system.

There is hope that technological developments in the not too distant future will make a real breakthrough in video recording and reproducing in a truly portable size. Such a breakthrough could be comparable to the one made in the audio field with the development of the magnetic tape recorder. Whenever relevant visual aids are readily accessible to the teacher and can be presented in a classroom with relative ease, there is little doubt that they will be used frequently in much the same way as recordings. Individualized viewing in the same context as individualized listening with headphones is already being explored experimentally but is still too expensive for widespread use. However, two recent technological developments are very promising for meeting the requirements of accessibility and ease of operation without being too costly. One is a portable overhead projector which uses transparencies that can be made quickly and easily by any teacher. The other is an 8 mm. cartridge-loading sound film projector, also portable.

Much that has been said about visual aids and films is applicable to the use of television, whether it be "live," filmed or taped, or closed-circuit. Television is essentially a presentation and demonstration device with a tremendous potential for mass distribution of a program. This great strength is also its great weakness as far as language learning is concerned. Television can present an expert teacher supported by an elaborate array of instructional resources and realia which no classroom could afford. As a presentation device and distribution system its potential is unparalleled. It can make major contributions to education, including the presentation of information to people who might otherwise not be reached. But at the earlier levels, when the objectives are concerned with the development of the various skills, the absence of interaction between the students and the teacher leaves the program in a pedagogical dilemma so that it must rely heavily on its best demonstration techniques. These can be effective to some extent, but they place television methodologically in the same category as a self-instruction book or record, without the benefits of programed-instruction principles or individual student control over the movement of the program. All this places such a burden on a program that one may safely predict that only a few superior televised programs will survive.

The statements above do not mean that one cannot learn foreign languages through television; they merely attempt to point out the serious limitations it faces as an efficient medium for foreign-language instruction. The most successful television programs have faced these problems and have done much experimentation in devising ways to overcome them or at least to minimize them. Supplementary recordings and other aids have been developed for use in the individual classrooms. In addition, the classroom teacher, whether he is fluent in the language or not, is considered an essential part of the program so that follow-up work can be given. The teacher's interest and enthusiasm are also considered key factors in the success of the program. Further reinforcement through regular in-service training is essential. Three major experimental FLES television projects have demonstrated that a reasonable amount of success in foreign-language learning through televised instruction is possible if it is supported by other ingredients which help compensate for the basic weakness of the medium. One of the research reports was explicit in stating that televised instruction alone without appropriate follow-up by the classroom teacher is largely ineffective. This clearly points to a highly developed systems approach before a program of televised foreign-language instruction can be considered truly successful. Nor should one overlook the motivating power of television and its great potential as a conveyor and demonstrator of authentic samples of foreign cultural patterns and information.

The behavioral scientists who developed programed instruction look upon learning as a change in behavior. The principles of programed instruction are used to control or shape behavior through highly refined techniques called operant conditioning. Since one of the main purposes is to increase efficiency in learning, this kind of instruction must be given on an essentially individual basis to allow for individual differences in learning rates. It requires a precise specification of the terminal behavior expected of those who complete the program successfully. For example, the specifications that one foreign-language programer has set up include such standards as aural comprehension at the rate of 250 syllables per minute and oral production at the rate of 150 syllables per minute. On the basis of detailed specifications of this type, the material is broken up into extremely small steps or frames which are presented in a graduated sequence so that the possibility of error is at a minimum. Each correct response is confirmed or reinforced immediately.

A presentation device of some kind is usually needed, but it may be a programed textbook or a machine of some kind. The selection or design of the device is usually made on the basis of efficiency, although cost factors also play a major role. Programers are careful to point out that it is not the teaching machine that teaches but the program itself. Nevertheless, if the terminal behavior specified includes the listening and speaking skills, it is difficult to see how this could be accomplished without the use of some kind of audio device. Surprisingly enough, some programs have claimed to teach foreign-language sounds solely by visual (text) means. This sort of audacity points up the kinds of problems that exist in this rapidly moving field. Although these principles apply to learning in all subject-matter fields, programers who lack an understanding of the nature of language and language learning and expect this learning to be treated in the same manner as other types of learning are in danger of violating their own basic principles without realizing it.

There are limitations on the capabilities of various instructional devices. In order to avoid the expense and complications of complex devices the programer's ingenuity is challenged to devise various techniques that can provide immediate reinforcement of oral responses. Considerable research is involved in revising and developing these sophisticated programing techniques through numerous field trials with students. This attention to detail and efficiency should furnish important results in terms of creating useful new techniques in instruction. Several foreign-language programs simply use a portable tape recorder and a special type of workbook. Some of the techniques used are similar to those developed to increase the efficiency of language-laboratory practice, although they are usually much more refined. However, a language laboratory equipped with individual student recorders can be made a teaching machine merely by adding the proper taped program and workbook in individual booths.

A considerable amount of promising experimentation is going on in foreign-language programing. Some of it is exploring ways to exploit these principles as a means of breaking the lock-step in learning caused by conventional administrative and pedagogical patterns. Some of it is exploring the area of aural discrimination for the purpose of training a student to evaluate pronunciation correctly, and some of it is exploring the idea of extensive listening-comprehension training as a more efficient approach to the skill of speaking. Although a machine that can evaluate pronunciation does not yet exist, researchers are exploring this area too. The element of speed is also being examined. Devices exist that can furnish an immediate (a fraction of one second) or consecutive playback of student responses and are being studied in field trials. It would be impossible at this stage to specify just what the design of future machines will be like. However, there are already available new types of equipment that are capable of performing as an audio teaching machine or as a miniature portable tape recorder for conventional language-laboratory or home use. Such devices must still provide sound of a high quality or they will be partially defeating their purpose.

Since many of the efforts in programing foreign languages are not yet operational, many researchers are quite frank in sounding warnings about the pitfalls that are likely to be encountered by anyone shopping for a program. If one is too impatient to wait any longer, he should at least be cautious enough to ask many searching questions about the details of the specifications for terminal behavior and about the results of field trials of the materials.

A final word is appropriate on the research that has been conducted on the relative merits of various media used in foreign-language instruction. Although we often proceed on assumptions rather than on demonstrated principles, we still feel the need for more research to help establish sound principles and the most effective practices in foreign-language teaching and learning. Unfortunately, much of the research in this area, especially the kind that compares one type of equipment with another, remains inconclusive. There are many reasons for this; one of the chief ones is that many variables in teaching and learning cannot be adequately controlled. Nevertheless, researchers are improving their experimental design techniques, and some useful results are emerging from experimentation. We cannot always afford to wait for final incontrovertible proof. If we had done this, the momentum of the many advances we have experienced in foreign-language teaching during the past few years would have been lost, and many successful programs would have ground to a slow halt. We must continue to move forward on the basis of the best practices that are available and at the same time keep an open mind as we continue to seek new insights, if not answers, through improved research.

Two outstanding documents that educators can now use in the evaluation of the instructional equipment and materials for foreign languages are the *Technical Guide for Language Laboratory Facilities* (sponsored jointly by the Electronic Industries Association and the United States Office of Education), with recommendations for standards based on a pedagogical and technical rationale; and the Modern Language Association's *Selected List of Materials,* which includes evaluative criteria for the selection of materials.

Articulation in the Teaching of Foreign Languages

by Donald D. Walsh

With increasing emphasis on longer sequences of foreign-language study, from kindergarten to graduate school, adequate articulation of foreign-language courses is one of the first desiderata of modern curricular reform. The present situation is alarming. In most school systems there are not sequences but mere fragments of foreign-language learning, in which the student is the victim of interrupted study and conflicting methods that dull all but the keenest enthusiasm for language learning.

The study of a first foreign language should begin very early, no later than grade 3. This is the ideal time to begin—when the vocal organs are still pliable and capable of imitating any sound in any language and when the child is uninhibited, and eager to experiment with language and to welcome the endless drilling that is needed to instill automatic language habits. This *is* the perfect age for language learning—everyone who has seen an elementary school foreign-language class in action will agree—but even if it were *not* the perfect age, even if it were a very unpropitious age, we would still have to urge that foreign-language study begin no later than grade 3 in order to get the job accomplished by the end of grade 12.

One of the most absurd delusions in American education is that a student can learn a foreign language in two high school years, attending only five classes a week totaling three or four hours and spending as little or even less time on preparation. Two years of study in grades 9 and 10 and two years of forgetting in grades 11 and 12 leave the student with precious little language knowledge as he enters college. Whether or not he takes a placement test, it will soon be apparent how little he has retained, and he will either have to repeat the elementary work, with consequent loss of interest, or shift to another language, abandoning any hope of mastering the first one and probably dropping the study of the new language as soon as he has satisfied the piffling foreign-language degree requirement. It is this sad and prevalent experience that has produced the monolingual American adult, monolingual not because he can't learn a foreign language but because he has never had a proper chance to learn one.

Learning a new language, acquiring a second set of language habits, is a long, slow process, but it is not a painful process if it is begun early under expert guidance and if the elementary school learning is an integral part of a planned sequence. Two factors in American education have prevented the widespread introduction of foreign-language study into the elementary schools, and the two factors are closely related. Most of the leading theorists in elementary education in the United States are (or have been until recently) in favor of the self-contained classroom, taught by a grade teacher who has majored in education and who therefore has no specialty except teaching children. As a result, most institutions that prepare future elementary school teachers have not given them any opportunity to specialize in a subject-matter field. Foreign-language study at this level is therefore hampered by the opposition of the theorists and by an acute shortage of elementary school teachers who have had any contact with a foreign language. One of the great advantages of the FLES program (Foreign Languages in Elementary Schools) is that young children are wonderfully good at imitating speech. If the teacher has a native or near-native accent, the children's accent will be equally good. But if the teacher speaks fractured French, the children will imitate her with frightening fidelity.

The Modern Language Association Foreign Language Program Advisory and Liaison Committee, meeting in New York in 1961, five years after its first Policy Statement on FLES, viewed with alarm the many FLES programs instituted without adequate teaching staff or provision for continuity and articulation. The committee issued a Second Statement of Policy, from which I quote:

"*Redefinition.* We must sharpen our definition of FLES. It is not an end in itself but the elementary-school (K-6) part of a language-learning program that should extend unbroken through grade 12. It has 15- or 20-minute sessions at least three times a week as an integral part of the school day. It concerns itself primarily with learning the four language skills, beginning with listening and speaking. Other values (improved understanding of language in general, intercultural understanding, broadened horizons), though important, are secondary.

"FLES *in Sequence.* We believe that FLES, as here defined, is an essential part of the long sequence, ten years or more, needed to approach mastery of a second language in school. There is good evidence that the learning of a second language considerably quickens and eases the learning of a third language, even when there is little or no relation between the languages learned. Since children imitate skillfully and with few inhibitions in the early school years, the primary grades (K-3) are the ideal place to begin language learning, and the experience is in itself exciting and rewarding.

"*Priority.* If a school system cannot provide both a FLES program and a six-year secondary-school foreign-language sequence (grades 7-12), it should work *first* toward establishing the grade 7-12 sequence. Unless there is a solid junior and senior high school program of foreign-language learning with due stress on the listening and speaking skills and fully articulated with the previous instruction, FLES learnings wither on the vine.

"*Articulation.* It requires: 1) a foreign-language program in grades 7 and 8 for graduates of FLES, who should never be placed with beginners at *any* grade level; 2) a carefully planned coordination of the FLES and secondary-school programs; 3) a frequent interchange of visits and information among the foreign-language teachers at all levels; 4) an over-all coordination by a single foreign-language supervisor or by a committee of administrators. These cooperative efforts should result in a common core of language learning that will make articulation smooth and effective.

"*The Teacher.* Ideally he should be an expert in the foreign language he teaches, with near-native accent and fluency, and also skillful in teaching young children. Few teachers are currently expert in both areas. If a teacher's foreign-language accent is not good, he should make every effort to improve it, and meanwhile he should rely on discs or tapes to supply authentic model voices for his pupils. But since language is communication, and a child cannot communicate with a phonograph or a tape recorder, no FLES learning can be wholly successful without the regular presence in the classroom of a live model who is also an expert teacher. The shortage of such doubly skilled teachers is the most serious obstacle to the success of FLES. To relieve this shortage every institution that trains future elementary-school teachers should offer a major in one or more foreign languages.

"*Cautions.* A FLES program should be instituted only: 1) if it is an integral and serious part of the school day; 2) if it is an integral and serious part of the total foreign-language program in the school system; 3) if there is close articulation with later foreign-language learning; 4) if there are available FL specialists or elementary-school teachers with an adequate command of the foreign language; 5) if there is a planned syllabus and a sequence of appropriate teaching materials; 6) if the program has the support of the administration; 7) if the high-school teachers of the foreign language in the local school system recognize the same long-range objectives and practise some of the same teaching techniques as the FLES teacher."

One apparent solution to the great community demand for FLES instruction, even where there are no available teachers, is the use of televised and filmed foreign-language lessons, given by a teacher who is a good model and involving a variable amount of follow-up work by the classroom teacher. The success of these substitute programs is directly related to the seriousness with which the classroom teachers undertake the follow-up work and to the skill with which they are trained (by special television broadcasts) for their daily tasks.

If we think of stages of language learning as levels, following the suggestion of Nelson Brooks,[1] we hope that students who have successfully completed a four-to-six-year course in FLES will have a language achievement comparable to Level I, which will also represent the achievement of students who have had two years of foreign-language study in grades 7 and 8 or one year of study in high school or one semester in college. These achievements are comparable only roughly because of the different ages and degrees of sophistication of the students and because the younger the students, the better their ability to acquire native accent and fluency.

We believe that all children should be given the opportunity to study a foreign language in the grades and that they should continue such study at least through grade 6. At this point, if a child seems to have made little language progress, and if he appears to be a slow learner in most fields, it may be decided that he should not go on with his foreign-language study in junior high school.

What happens, not in theory but in practice, to the pupil who does go on to junior high school foreign-language study after three to six years of FLES? The worst thing that can happen to him is to make him start all over with ninth-grade beginners. The next worst is to put him with tenth-grade students who began their foreign language in grade 9. Their social maturity is greater and their linguistic command is weaker than that of the younger students. The student who has had a successful FLES experience deserves something better than this. He should have a separate track or stream or series of courses that will build on *his* foundation, instead of being thrown in with other students who have had other kinds of preparation. Having reached a Level I achievement by the time he enters junior high school, he should expect to complete Level II in grades 7 and 8 and be ready for Level III in grade 9 and therefore complete Level VI by grade 12.

These multiple tracks admittedly complicate the junior high school curriculum, but the move toward consolidated high schools will make the complications more bearable. The little red schoolhouse, that symbol of the golden age of American education, is fortunately disappearing from the contemporary scene and with its disappearance will pass the curricular restrictions that we all deplore.

Administrators at all educational levels and throughout a single geographical area should agree on which foreign languages should be offered at each level, so that the FLES offerings will not put unbearably complex demands on the junior and senior high schools, or so that the junior high school will not decide to institute instruction in a neglected language that the senior high school wishes to continue to neglect. But with planned articulation, there is no reason why, in a large city system, a neglected language (Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Italian, German, Portuguese, for example) could not be offered in the elementary and junior high school, with French or Spanish, to give some students a rare opportunity to become specialists in a neglected foreign language by the time they reach college.

Articulation must occur not only between schools but within schools. The grade 2 course must do more than repeat or parallel what was learned in kindergarten and grade 1. It must build on what has already been learned. Between any language course and the course in the next higher grade there must be articulation in materials covered and in the use of these materials. There must be an interchange of ideas, coordination, common direction. And this requires a common philosophy of language learning throughout the school system. Without this unified set of objectives, no system of tracks will produce a meaningful sequence of language learning. There is simply no point at which the product of a course with audio-lingual stress can merge with the product of an analytical grammar-translation course without bruising both products. But if there is a common philosophy and comparable content in Levels I and II at whatever grade levels they are studied, there is no reason why two tracks or streams cannot merge at Level IV or even at Level III. And this merger will greatly lessen the administrator's headaches.

Articulation has two dimensions: it is horizontal as well as vertical. Teachers must know what is happening in language courses that parallel the ones they are teaching as well as in courses that precede and follow them. They should make a practice of visiting the classes of their colleagues in their own school and in other schools and in other communities. Just as a picture is worth a thousand words, a demonstration of a master teacher in action is worth a thousand pages of methodology.

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[1] See "The Change from Traditional to Modern in Language Teaching," pp. 46-52.

With America on the move, pupils are constantly transferring from one school system to another, and there is increasing need for some degree of uniformity in our elementary and secondary school curriculums. And there is a need for a reliable set of tests to measure the achievement of an incoming student so that he may be correctly placed in his language classes. The Modern Language Association, by contract with the United States Office of Education, has produced tests of this sort in the four language skills and in the five languages most commonly taught in the United States (French, German, Italian, Russian, and Spanish). The tests, produced by 20 committees of foreign-language teachers under the general direction of Nelson Brooks of Yale, were widely pretested in the spring of 1962 and the spring of 1963. Norms are being established as a result of this pretesting and will be available to schools and colleges early in 1964 through the Cooperative Test Division of Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N. J.

If we do achieve an early start to foreign-language study and if we do achieve effective articulation at grade 7 and at grade 10, what then? More opportunities, and more problems. For we must be prepared to teach the courses at Levels IV, V, and VI that will be required to meet the needs of the students whose FLES training makes them eager to do advanced work. So much foreign-language instruction has been confined to the first two levels that few teachers are really equipped to teach these advanced courses effectively. Those who are entrusted with this responsibility should be urged to apply for admission to NDEA Language Institutes and to seek invitations to attend the College Board Advanced Placement Program's foreign languages conferences.

One of the articulation points most charged with emotion and beclouded with rumor is the transition from school to college. At the 1958 Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, I was chairman of a session called "Ghosts in the Classroom." One of the "ghosts" whose reality we tried to examine was the belief that secondary school students beautifully trained to speak and understand the spoken language enter college with enormous linguistic enthusiasm, enroll in intermediate French or Spanish or Whatever, and thereupon discover that not a word of the language is spoken in class, even by professors who are native French or Spanish or Whatever but attempt to communicate with their students in Echt-English. We concluded that, though the sweeping condemnation was unfair to many colleges, there was enough truth in it to make it sobering. Most of the blame rests immediately on past generations of teachers and early forms of the College Entrance Examination Board tests. They both reflected what the colleges then demanded of incoming students: a high degree of reading skill and a moderate degree of writing skill, with no mention of and no chance to exhibit any skill in listening or speaking.

An autobiographical note may be in order at this point. I graduated from Harvard many decades ago with a major in Romance languages that included quite respectable demands for competence in Spanish and French. My first teaching job was at one of the most prestigious private boarding schools in New England, and I was eager to teach my students to speak and understand French and Spanish. But this wildly radical desire was promptly squelched, for all the language instruction was geared to what was examinable on the College Board tests, and, alas, at that time, it was mostly translation into and out of English. I didn't last long at this school, and I am immodest enough to think that my leaving it was its loss and my gain, for I moved to another school that shared my belief that language is organized sound, not printed words on a page, and that language learning must begin (but *not* end) with the spoken word.

End of autobiographical note. Back to articulation between school and college. If we foreign-language teachers, at school and college levels, could learn to think of ourselves not as opponents or rivals but as partners in the common task of teaching languages to Americans, we might more frequently and more successfully break through the college-admissions curtain. The schoolteacher, for example, might write to the Head of the Whatever Department at a given college to ask him to see that John Smith's freshman teacher pay him some special attention, because he has developed such skill in and enthusiasm for speaking Whatever that it would be a tragedy to put him in a course conducted in English. Or he could write about George Jones, whose literary appreciation considerably exceeds his powers of self-expression in Whatever and hope that George would not, as a consequence, be reduced to reading Basic Whatever forever. Conversely, or reversely, the college teacher, noting that graduates of a given school entering his college with two credits (grades 9 and 10) in Whatever and taking a placement test were almost uniformly assigned to the second-semester course (or even the first-semester course) instead of the expectable third, might write to the foreign-language chairman in the school pointing this out and perhaps thus indirectly strengthening the school's foreign-language content and lengthening its sequence.

Let us return to the college course in Whatever that is conducted in English. The explanation is either that the professor doesn't know enough Whatever to conduct the class in it or that he thinks his students wouldn't know enough Whatever to understand him if he tried. If it's the former reason, we can't do much about it, since the professor probably has tenure. We'll just wait it out. But if it's the latter reason, we can ask how recently the professor has tested his students on their linguistic capacities. Did he last try out a class and find it wanting in 1940? or 1950? or even 1960? If so, we urge him to keep trying, to submit each new batch of students to the test. Any year now he is going to find a class of students eager and able to use the foreign language actively, not merely to ask their way to the bathroom but to discuss literature on a genuinely collegiate level. Until we get this kind of recognition of what is going on in some secondary school language learning, we will be inarticulate at this crucial point in foreign-language education. I would go further than to urge the professor to try out his opening lecture in the foreign language. I would plead with him to use the foreign language for the first month, to see to what extent a heterogeneous group of students could begin to catch on to what he is saying and be so excited by their success that they would have a memorable and rewarding year in language *and* literature. They might even decide to major in Whatever, and some of them might even want to teach it.

Among the most admirable attempts to improve articulation at any educational point are the Advanced Placement Examinations (an unsolicited testimonial). If they have been less than completely successful in modern foreign languages, the fault lies not in the examinations but in the extreme diversity of college freshman courses that they are intended to replace. Since there is little hope of achieving uniformity in the content of these freshman courses, we urge the colleges and (in this) their servants the College Board to agree upon a type of examination that would test the candidate not on which literary works he has read or read about but on the degree of his literary perception of prose or poetry, judged by his analysis of unfamiliar literary works. A shift to this type of Advanced Placement Examinations would solve a present dilemma: if the test is to have specific literary content (show, by references to four novels [poems, short stories] that virtue succeeds [fails] in the end), one must either limit the literary references that the candidate may use, which prescribes the content of his Advanced Placement course (very authoritarian), or one must assume that the examiner is able to evaluate any candidate's references to any literary work in the language, and omniscience is in short supply, even among College Board readers.

The next point of articulation is between the college and the graduate school of arts and sciences. Most of these graduate schools require the applicant to present credits in at least one foreign language for admission. But few of his graduate-school teachers ever require that he make any use of this knowledge in his graduate study or research. This failure to follow through makes the requirement a fraud. The solution is not to abolish the requirement but to implement it in as many graduate courses as possible.

At the end of our articulation points is the language examination for the doctorate. The Association of Graduate Schools is developing a series of examinations (in cooperation with Educational Testing Service) that will, we hope, bring order out of chaos. The series will allow, for example, a graduate student in biology presenting French (or German) as one of his foreign languages to prove his knowledge of this language as a research tool by reading and interpreting passages from Pasteur (or Mendel). An equally important step is the determination of the best time for demonstrating language proficiency. If the proficiency is to be useful in research that leads to the doctorate, it should clearly be demonstrated at the beginning or soon after the beginning of the graduate program, not, as is now the distressing custom, on the eve of the awarding of the degree.

The lengthening of the span of foreign-language instruction (from pre-dental to pre-doctoral) has complicated life for the administrator, who may view with nostalgia the good old days when the foreign-language program consisted of two years of one foreign language in grades 10 and 11 with no articulation worries except to provide for two sections of French I or German I or Spanish I in grade 10 and one section of French II or German II or Spanish II in grade 11. The job is infinitely more complex and demanding today, and, if foreign-language teachers are to cope with all its complexities, they need the wholehearted and understanding support of school and college administrators from kindergarten to graduate school.

Determining the Competencies of Teachers of Modern Foreign Languages

by Kenneth W. Mildenberger

This discussion deals with some of the problems of measuring the specific proficiencies an individual should demonstrate in order to qualify as a teacher of modern foreign languages in elementary or secondary schools. The separate problems of college language teachers and teachers of classical languages will be treated only peripherally. I shall not be able to treat here the vital personal characteristics, measurable or intangible, that a successful teacher should possess in his relationships with pupils, parents, colleagues, or administrators. Nor can I deal here with the problem of on-the-spot classroom performance.

How can we know whether someone who presents himself as a teacher of modern foreign languages does, in reality, have the competencies necessary for success, or at least adequacy?

One means of knowing is to count up his pertinent academic credits and, if he has an arbitrarily designated requisite number, stamp him acceptable—the so-called cash-register method of teacher certification. This system, still the standard practice in nearly all states and large city school systems, generally pays attention neither to the passing grade of the individual nor the uneven quality of institutions of higher education. It is baldly quantitative. And an increase in the quantity is not necessarily an answer to the basic problem.

How else can it be solved? Another approach lies in the relative success of the teacher's pupils in attaining high grades on tests administered by local, state, or national agencies, public or private. But success here merely begs the question until student tests have been developed and validated that will actually measure the full range of desired outcomes, not just some. A shrewd teacher can accomplish phenomenal success teaching for truncated tests rather than for all desired outcomes, and student excellence in, for example, reading or grammatical analysis may reflect only the teacher's own excellence in these limited matters.

Another highly illusory evaluation may be made on the basis of nonteaching professional activities. Such activities are, of course, valuable, and they are certainly desirable in the total professional life of the teacher. But writing, editing, attending association meetings and conferences, and so forth are not necessarily a meaningful measure of teaching abilities. During the past decade my professional activities have given me a nodding acquaintance with thousands of language teachers and rather close relationships with hundreds of others. Inevitably, and more or less unconsciously, I find myself ranging these contacts by some scale of professional values, though I know nothing of the teachers' competencies. Frequently I am asked for letters of reference by language-teaching acquaintances, or by their chairmen in connection with promotions, or by chairmen, deans, college presidents, or school superintendents who are considering them for employment. I may or may not have some things of significance to say in such letters, but I cannot report on the critical matter of their teaching qualifications.

How then can we determine the competency of a language teacher? In 1958 this became more than a theoretical question for the United States Office of Education. The new National Defense Education Act authorized financial assistance for summer and academic-year institutes for upgrading the competencies of modern foreign-language teachers in elementary and secondary schools. Up to $7,250,000 per year was to be available for this purpose. If the federal funds were to be spent wisely, at least two questions immediately presented themselves: what were the specific objectives of the institutes to be, and how could the relative success of such institutes be measured in terms of teacher competencies?

The answer to the first question was clear enough from many sources, and it had been spelled out during the congressional hearings that preceded passage of the NDEA. The institutes were to provide advanced training to modern foreign-language teachers so that they could do a more effective job of instruction in the functional language—listening comprehension and speaking, as well as reading and writing. In addition to developing these abilities in the teachers, the institutes were to provide training in the use of new instructional equipment and materials.

The answer to the second question was only partly available when the NDEA was passed. A detailed statement of the requisite competencies had been prepared, but the critical tests of these competencies did not exist.

The statement of competencies had been one of many significant results of the Foreign Language Program of the Modern Language Association of America. The "FL Program" had begun in 1952, with support from The Rockefeller Foundation, to investigate the needs for modern foreign languages in American life and to make a beginning in improving instruction. The program began under the dynamic direction of William R. Parker, then executive secretary of the MLA.

At a meeting of the Steering Committee of the FL Program on February 12-13, 1955, two and one-half years of the findings of the program were studied, and the committee formulated its important statement of "Qualifications for Secondary School Teachers of Modern Foreign Languages." Parker did not publish this statement until he had received endorsement by 18 national and regional language organizations. The complete statement is reproduced at the end of this paper, with the names of the members of the steering committee and the positions they held in 1955. This document should be studied carefully by the reader, since it has had such far-reaching effects.

Seven competencies are distinguished: aural understanding, speaking, reading, writing, language analysis, culture, professional preparation. For each competency, three levels of qualification are defined: minimal, good, superior.

The MLA developed the implications of this statement with a conference of leaders in American education, held February 4-5, 1956. This group commended the MLA for the leadership shown and recommended that the basic principles involved had significance for the preparation of teachers in all subject-matter fields. "Methods of certifying teachers should hereafter guarantee adequate preparation by including *evidence of proficiency based on performance* as well as upon credit hours." The full statement of this meeting is also reproduced at the end of this paper, with the names of the participants and their positions at that time.

By the end of the 1950's American education was becoming increasingly aware of the importance of demonstrated proficiency, as well as accumulated credit-hours, in measuring competency of language teachers. Anna Balakian undertook a searching investigation of the situation in 1959-60. She summarized: "In general, the significant trend revealed in the survey is not an increase in the credit-hour requirements but the shift that is taking place in the responsibility for the accreditation of applicants from the State Certification Boards to the institutions of higher education occupied with their training. This would suggest both more flexibility of evaluation of the applicant's proficiency and also the possibility of more direct application of homogeneous standards to the evaluation of the individual in the several areas of competency. This would imply that departments of foreign languages in the colleges and universities will have more and more control over the quality of instruction in the foreign languages in the high schools; with the privilege will go the responsibility of accurate evaluation and the possible need for a sharpening of the relationship between the applicant's attainment and his academic grades. One can also conclude from the replies of the

State Certification Officers that the requirements that do prevail are for the most part open to revision."[1]

Despite this wide concern and agreement regarding proficiency tests, the actual measurement instruments still remained to be developed when the United States Office of Education began to implement the NDEA. During the late 1950's no philanthropic educational foundations showed willingness to finance this development. The urgent need for such tests in connection with the NDEA language institute program moved the Office of Education to swift action.

A contract was signed with the MLA with Educational Testing Service as subcontractor, to cover the period from June 1959 to June 1962. Under the direction of Wilmarth H. Starr, an immense project unfolded that involved substantial professional contributions by more than 200 persons and field participation by many thousands of others. The logistics of this project are awesome. In 1960 and 1961 nearly 70,000 individual tests were administered and scored, as the instruments were refined for validity, reliability, and practicality of administration. Tons of paper and miles of magnetic sound tape were used, and scores of committees and subcommittees met and remet.[2]

The project produced two 31-test batteries in five languages (French, German, Italian, Russian, Spanish) covering seven competencies (listening comprehension, speaking, reading, writing, applied linguistics, culture and civilization, professional preparation). The MLA has reported to the Office of Education: "At the original conferences of the MLA chairmen and the ETS advisors to set specifications for the tests it was agreed to aim at individual test reliability of .80 and battery reliability of .90 in accordance with accepted testing procedures. It may be clearly stated that in every case the minimum requirements for validity and reliability have been appreciably exceeded. Responsible officers of Educational Testing Service have stated that these MLA test batteries are among the most valid and reliable test batteries with which the ETS has ever been associated."[3]

Administration of the finished tests is now a standard feature at NDEA institutes for language teachers. One battery is given at the beginning to provide individual prognosis in each competency so that remedial steps may be undertaken in the course of the institute, and a second battery is given at the end in order to assess achievement. In the summer of 1963, 79 such institutes will serve approximately 4,300 elementary and secondary school language teachers. The tests have proved so successful that leaders in education have asked that they be made generally obtainable by colleges, universities, state departments of education, and other responsible agencies for use in evaluating teacher qualifications. To meet the continuing needs of NDEA language institutes as well as the growing interests of other agencies, ETS now has an agreement with MLA to publish and generally administer the MLA Teacher Proficiency Tests.

According to ETS, the use of these tests is gradually expanding, and almost daily inquiries are received in regard to them. Delaware, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia have approved the tests for state certification purposes, and a number of other states have them under consideration. New Hampshire is using the tests for a statewide evaluation of inservice teachers.

Institutions of higher education are also beginning to make use of the tests. The Graduate School at the University of Buffalo has employed them to test incoming language majors, and St. Joseph's College (Connecticut) has used them for setting graduate student requirements for reading knowledge of a foreign language. Graduating language majors are given the tests at the University of Massachusetts, Hampton Institute, Emmanuel Missionary College (Michigan), St. Olaf College, Coe College, Monmouth College, Lawrence College, Ripon College, the University of California (Berkeley), and the University of Rochester. Students in special training programs have been given the tests at Beloit College, Indiana University, the University of Michigan, and the University of Colorado. The University of Wisconsin has used them in connection with Peace Corps training.

[Note: The following statement is reprinted from *PMLA*, September 1955, Part 2, pp. 46-49.]

Qualifications for Secondary-School Teachers of Modern Foreign Languages

It is vitally important that teachers of modern foreign languages be adequately prepared for a task which more and more Americans are declaring essential to the national welfare. Though a majority of the language teachers in our schools are well trained, many have been poorly or inadequately prepared, often through no fault of their own. The persons listed below, therefore, present this statement of what they consider the minimal, good, and superior qualifications of a secondary-school teacher of a modern foreign language.

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[1] "Certification Requirements for Modern Foreign Language Teachers in American Public Schools, 1959-60," *PMLA*, May 1961, p. 25.

[2] For detailed accounts of the project see Wilmarth H. Starr, "Proficiency Tests in Modern Foreign Languages," *PMLA*, May 1961, pp. 7-11; "MLA Foreign Language Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students," *PMLA*, September 1962, pp. 31-37.

[3] Unpublished report.

The group regrets that the minimum here stated *cannot yet* include real proficiency in the foreign tongue or more than a superficial knowledge of the foreign culture. It must be clearly understood that teaching by persons who cannot meet this minimal standard will not produce results which our profession can endorse as making the distinctive contribution of language learning to American life in the second half of the twentieth century.

The lowest level of preparation is not recommended. It is here stated only as a point of departure which carries with it the responsibility for continued study and self-improvement, through graduate and in-service training, toward the levels of good and superior preparation.

Those who subscribe to this statement hope that the teacher of foreign languages (1) will have the personal qualities which make an effective teacher; (2) has received a well-balanced education, including a knowledge of our own American culture; and (3) has received the appropriate training in professional education, psychology, and secondary-school methods. It is not our purpose to define further these criteria. We are concerned here with the specific criteria for a teacher of modern foreign languages.

1. Aural Understanding

Minimal—The ability to get the sense of what an educated native says when he is enunciating carefully and speaking simply on a general subject.

Good—The ability to understand conversation at average tempo, lectures, and news broadcasts.

Superior—The ability to follow closely and with ease all types of standard speech, such as rapid or group conversation, plays, and movies.

Test—These abilities can be tested by dictations, by the *Listening Comprehension Tests* of the College Entrance Examination Board — thus far developed for French, German, and Spanish—or by similar tests for these and other languages, with an extension in range and difficulty for the superior level.

2. Speaking

Minimal—The ability to talk on prepared topics (*e.g.*, for classroom situations) without obvious faltering, and to use the common expressions needed for getting around in the foreign country, speaking with a pronunciation readily understandable to a native.

Good—The ability to talk with a native without making glaring mistakes, and with a command of vocabulary and syntax sufficient to express one's thoughts in sustained conversation. This implies speech at normal speed with good pronunciation and intonation.

Superior—The ability to approximate native speech in vocabulary, intonation, and pronunciation (*e.g.*, the ability to exchange ideas and to be at ease in social situations).

Test—For the present, this ability has to be tested by interview or by a recorded set of questions with a blank disc or tape for recording answers.

3. Reading

Minimal—The ability to grasp directly *i.e.*, without translating) the meaning of simple, non-technical prose, except for an occasional word.

Good—The ability to read with immediate comprehension prose and verse of average difficulty and mature content.

Superior—The ability to read, almost as easily as in English, material of considerable difficulty, such as essays and literary criticism.

Test—These abilities can be tested by a graded series of timed reading passages, with comprehension questions and multiple-choice or free-response answers.

4. Writing

Minimal—The ability to write correctly sentences or paragraphs such as would be developed orally for classroom situations, and the ability to write a short, simple letter.

Good—The ability to write a simple "free composition" with clarity and correctness in vocabulary, idiom, and syntax.

Superior—The ability to write on a variety of subjects with idiomatic naturalness, ease of expression, and some feeling for the style of the language.

Test—These abilities can be tested by multiple-choice syntax items, dictations, translation of English sentences or paragraphs, and a controlled letter or free composition.

5. *Language Analysis*

Minimal—A working command of the sound patterns and grammar patterns of the foreign language, and a knowledge of its main differences from English.

Good—A basic knowledge of the historical development and present characteristics of the language, and an awareness of the difference between the language as spoken and as written.

Superior—Ability to apply knowledge of descriptive, comparative, and historical linguistics to the language-teaching situation.

Test—Such information and insight can be tested for levels 1 and 2 by multiple-choice and free-response items on pronunciation, intonation patterns, and syntax; for levels 2 and 3, items on philology and descriptive linguistics.

6. *Culture*

Minimal—An awareness of language as an essential element among the learned and shared experiences that combine to form a particular culture, and a rudimentary knowledge of the geography, history, literature, art, social customs, and contemporary civilization of the foreign people.

Good—Firsthand knowledge of some literary masterpieces, an understanding of the principal ways in which the foreign culture resembles and differs from our own, and possession of an organized body of information on the foreign people and their civilization.

Superior—An enlightened understanding of the foreign people and their culture, achieved through personal contact, preferably by travel and residence abroad; through study of systematic descriptions of the foreign culture; and through study of literature and the arts.

Test—Such information and insight can be tested by multiple-choice literary and cultural acquaintance tests for levels 1 and 2; for level 3, written comments on passages of prose or poetry that discuss or reveal significant aspects of the foreign culture.

7. *Professional Preparation*[1]

Minimal—Some knowledge of effective methods and techniques of language teaching.

Good—The ability to apply knowledge of methods and techniques to the teaching situation (*e.g.*, audio-visual techniques) and to relate one's teaching of the language to other areas of the curriculum.

Superior—A mastery of recognized teaching methods, and the ability to experiment with and evaluate new methods and techniques.

Test—Such knowledge and ability can be tested by multiple-choice answers to questions on pedagogy and language-teaching methods, plus written comment on language-teaching situations.

The foregoing statement was prepared by the Steering Committee[2] of the Foreign Language Program of the Modern Language Association of America, and was subsequently endorsed for publication by the MLA Executive Council, by the Modern Language Committee of the Secondary Education Board, by the Committee on the Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies, and by the executive boards or councils of the following national and regional organizations: National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations, American Association of Teachers of French, American Association of Teachers of German, American Association of Teachers of Italian, American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese, American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages, Central States Modern Language Teachers Association, Middle States Association of Modern Language Teachers, New England Modern Language Association, Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Northwest Conference on Foreign Language Teaching, Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association, South Atlantic Modern Language Association, and South-Central Modern Language Association.

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[1] Note the final paragraph of the prefatory statement.

[2] Theodore Andersson, Assoc. Prof. of French and Assoc. Dir., Master of Arts in Teaching Program, Yale Univ.; Josephine Bruno, teacher of modern languages, Medford (Mass.) High School, representing the Amer. Assoc. of Teachers of Italian; Stephen A. Freeman, Vice Pres. of Middlebury College, Dir. of the Middlebury Summer Language Schools, Pres. of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations; Renée J. Fulton, Administrative Assistant, Bureau of Curriculum Research, New York City Board of Education, representing the Amer. Assoc. of Teachers of French; Claude P. Lemieux, Prof. of Russian, U.S. Naval Academy, Sec.-Treas. of the Amer. Assoc. of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages and representing this Association; Albert H. Marckwardt, Prof. of English, Univ. of Michigan, member of the Committee on the Language Program of the Amer. Council of Learned Societies; Bayard Q. Morgan, Prof. Emeritus of German, Stanford Univ., former editor of the *Modern Language Journal;* Werner Neuse, Prof. of German and Dir. of the German School, Middlebury College, Pres. of the Amer. Assoc. of Teachers of German and representing this Association; Howard Lee Nostrand, Prof. and Executive Officer of Romance Languages, Univ. of Washington; Donald D. Walsh, Head of the Spanish Dept., The Choate School, editor of *Hispania,* representing the Amer. Assoc. of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese.

[Note: The following statement is reprinted from *PMLA,* April 1956, Part 2, p. xi.]

The Preparation and Certification of Modern Foreign Language Teachers

Conferring as individuals rather than as representatives of organizations, the twelve persons named below met on 4-5 February 1956 with the administrative staff of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA (6 Washington Square North, New York 3, N. Y.) and reached a consensus as follows:

WE COMMEND the MLA for leadership in clarifying the desirable qualifications of and means of preparing teachers of modern foreign languages. We believe that application of the principles specified below is central to effective preparation of future teachers in *all* subject-matter fields. Methods of certifying teachers should hereafter guarantee adequate preparation by including *evidence of proficiency based on performance* as well as upon credit hours. Certification of candidates by the State, and accreditation of programs of teacher education by the professional accrediting agency, should therefore be based on the following principles:

1. All institutions professing to prepare teachers of modern foreign languages for elementary and secondary schools should set up *specific programs* designed to give future teachers the desired qualifications in their teaching field as defined by the MLA in cooperation with other national or regional organizations of foreign language teachers.

2. Modern foreign language teachers in the elementary and secondary schools and in the colleges, together with the State authorities and professional accrediting agencies, should cooperate in setting up criteria for approving teacher education programs.

3. Certification of a modern foreign language teacher by the State authority should be based upon satisfactory completion of such a program, together with *specific recommendation of the candidate by the institution.*

4. The institution should be responsible for evaluating all the qualifications and the proficiency of the candidate, including liberal education, professional preparation, and total readiness to teach. Qualification acquired by private study or other personal experience should be accepted by the institution when substantiated by proper evaluation.

5. Standardized tests of proficiency should be developed as soon as possible to assist the institution and the employer in diagnosing a candidate's qualifications as a language teacher.

W. Earl Armstrong, Director, National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education
James T. Coleman, President, National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification
Robert W. Eaves, Executive Secretary, Department of Elementary School Principals, National Education Association
Finis E. Engleman, Commissioner of Education of the State of Connecticut
Stephen A. Freeman, Vice-President of Middlebury College
Edgar Fuller, Executive Secretary, National Council of Chief State School Officers
Alonzo G. Grace, Dean, School of Education, New York University *(Chairman)*
Francis Keppel, Dean, School of Education, Harvard University
Earl J. McGrath, President of the University of Kansas City
Dean Forrest M. Murphy, Chairman, Committee on Standards, National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education
Ellsworth Tompkins, National Association of Secondary-School Principals
Philip Wardner, President, National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards

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